National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND CONTRADICTIONS IN PERIPHERAL CAPITALISM

AN EVALUATION OF NAMIBIA'S POST-APARTHEID INITIATIVES

by

MIKAEL WOSSEN-TAFFESSE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

IN

INTERCULTURAL & INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1994

National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services Branch
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction des acquisitions et des services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-94972-4

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Mikael Wossen-Taffesse

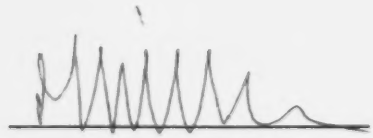
TITLE OF THESIS: **Educational Reform and Contradictions in Peripheral Capitalism: An Evaluation of Namibia's Post-Apartheid Initiatives**

DEGREE: Masters of Education

YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1994

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and except as herein before provided neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.



126 Morin Maze
Edmonton, Alberta
T6K 1V1

Dated: May 27, 1994

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **EDUCATIONAL REFORM AND CONTRADICTIONS IN PERIPHERAL CAPITALISM: An Evaluation of Namibia's Post-Apartheid Initiatives** submitted by Mikael Wossen-Taffesse in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education in Intercultural and International Education.

.....
Dr. R.S. Pannu

.....
Dr. S.H. Toh

.....
Dr. M. Assheton-Smith

.....
Dr. F. Judson

December 9, 1993

A DEDICATION

To my loving wife, friend, and colleague

Azeb

whose dedication to justice and human rights has inspired me,

and

my two sons

Wossen and Zagwé

ABSTRACT

This thesis offers the analytics of Marxism as the most helpful 'research programme' to explore the principal trends in Namibian educational development over a given period of time i.e., historically. A multidisciplinary framework for conducting historical sociology in the African peripheries is advanced.

This study starts by recognizing the colonial state formation in Namibia in the context of both German and South African penetration and discusses the progressive secularization of segregated educational structures and facilities. The process is accompanied with Namibia's closer integration into the global division of labour, production, consumption and accumulation cycle. The unequal education systems and opportunities of the colony are fashioned to the dictates of capitalist accumulation specific to the racialist formation of what is known as "Africa of the labour reserves." Thus understood Namibia's historic relations and modern educational institutions, have historically evolved in the context of systemic imperialist subjugation and are therefore conceived as integral parts of what Frantz Fanon refers to as the *setting up* of a colonial system or 'situation' among colonial peoples.

Chapter 5, titled "Bantu Education or 'Schools of Servitude'" explores the emergence of 'Bantu Education', as a unique educational intervention. "After Etosha" addresses the dramatic policy shifts in SWAPO's educational policies in the course of the 1980's, characterized as they were by the progressive abandonment of the revolutionary conception of post-apartheid educational possibilities as elaborated in the *Political Programme* and *Programme of Action* adopted earlier in the struggle for independence.

The final chapters explore the state's post-apartheid efforts at 'addressing' the objectives of the *Basic Education For All* international 'consensus' in the context of the *critical goals* specifically articulated as national policy in a series of reform directives. The role of the multilateral and bilateral world systemic institutions and dominant State/NGO agencies involved in the knowledge production, distribution and consumption business are clarified in the course of this discussion.

By focusing on the racial dynamics implied by the state's liberal commitment to equality of opportunities and attempts at desegregation, the final sections address themselves to possible explications/explanations and conclusions that may be drawn from the practical pursuit of this particular *reform.*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter		
	INTRODUCTION	1
1.	METHODOLOGICAL/ANALYTICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS	9
2.	THE BACKBONE OF NAMIBIA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: THE MISSIONARY INITIATIVE	23
3.	THE COLONIAL SITUATION AND AFRICAN EDUCATION	40
	The Political Economy of Race	40
4.	FROM SOUTHWEST AFRICA TO NAMIBIA	52
	The German Colonial State Formation	52
	The Formalization of African Education	54
5.	BANTU EDUCATION OR 'SCHOOLS OF SERVITUDE'	74
6.	THE LANGUAGE ISSUE	87
7.	AFTER ETOSHA	99
8.	POST-COLONIALITY: A CONDITIONED EDUCATION FOR ALL AGENDA	112
9.	CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS/COMMENTARY	138
Bibliography		164
Appendices		171
	Appendix I	171
	Appendix II	174

Introduction

This declaration[World Declaration on Education for All and Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs, World Conference on Education for All, 5-9 March, 1990 Jomtien, Thailand] captures the spirit of our national aspiration towards mutual understanding, equity in education, social justice and human rights as enshrined in our Constitution (Articles 19, 20 and 21). . .The nation is required to address these fundamental issues.

Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC): Windhoek. 1990.

Namibia has finally achieved political independence with an acute consciousness that the legacies of its colonial-apartheid system of education are totally incompatible with the 'sovereign' national goals and aspirations of its people. Much is implied in this post-apartheid vision, whose deeper national meanings and strategies of implementation this inquiry seeks to apprehend. It is the principal purpose of this research to critically examine how the national education reform underway in Namibia 'addresses' itself to the myriad of issues raised in the post-apartheid educational agenda broadly prefaced above.

The basic intellectual attitude brought to this hopefully critical appraisal of education and social change is mindful of Paulo Freire's dictum that "education cannot be neutral" and that a more precise knowledge of its workings anywhere, requires social scientific apprehension of the 'reason for its being' (Freire:1972:113). It is important to stress that this insight is not new, although Freire is often cited for eloquently popularizing and systematizing its implications in the domain of adult education discourses, pedagogy and international literacy research/policy issues.[1] The World Declaration on Education for All is one such policy discourse provided for furthering the hegemonic influences of Western culture and mode of thinking while positing the principle of equity in education for all.

Conceptions about what education is or ought to be or what other modes of literacy (adult/private) instructions involve, to whom or which class of citizens and how schools

---

[1]According to C. A. Bowers [in "Linguistic Roots of Cultural Invasion in Paulo Freire's Pedagogy" Teachers College Press Vol 84 #4 1983:] " Paulo Freire's commitment to using education for the purpose of individual and cultural liberation has made him one of the more dominant, if not charismatic, educational theorist today...and his pedagogy has been widely used in adult literacy programs in Third World countries".

should be thought have been professed by statesmen and scholars for centuries. From Plato to Freire, systematic education or schooling of one form or another has long been considered a catalytic factor in the process of social change and civilized human transformations since times immemorial. In the pre-Platonic social formations of the so called 'Orient' as well, issues of literacy and education were given the high consideration they deserve along with statecraft and leadership. It may be inferred that the absence of education, amongst many cultural brutalities and individual 'deficits', breeds not a very fertile ground for economic and social advancement. Nor does a widespread 'state of ignorance' anywhere, offer the basis for sustained economic accumulation and cultural reproduction, however defined for now. In such environs, the perimeters of 'progress'. development of industry and the social relations of production are inevitably affected, more than likely bringing potential threats to the state's legitimacy and overall capacities of governance. In the absence of systematically transmitted knowledge, cultural patterns and experiences, the potentials for 'history-making' on a world scale suffer just as harshly. The practical consequences of this generalized sociological syndrome are rather dramatically expressed today among the underprivileged citizens and State formations of what has come to be collectively albeit loosely known as the Third World or simply the South of the 'poor', or even lately 'the poorest of the poor' countries.[2]

The phenomenon of 'illiteracy' is common among this population and its reduction in various nations (at the center of contemporary international policy issues) calls for reciprocal movements in related economic, social, environmental, and foreign policy, with each area merging imperceptibly into the next. This is partly why there is academic literature on international education proliferating across established disciplines with the field of inquiry increasingly incorporating 'interdisciplinary' conceptual categories like

---

[2]First coined by Indonesia's Sukarno in 1955, the phrase lumps together diverse countries and is no longer a rigorous social scientific concept. It is used here as a kind of political euphemism for what the 'multilateral' UN organizations refer to as the "less developed countries" or simply South as opposed to North. The category of the 'poorest of the poor' is widely employed by CIDA as well.

'hegemony', and 'democratization' of educational opportunities, 'bureaucratization' of knowledge and so on. In other words, there exists a concerted discussion across traditional academic disciplines to fathom the Third World's real literacy levels, educational predicaments and possibilities/options within the existing world system of capitalism and in the context of the colonized. The dilemma of course lies in that there are no simple pre-determined answers nor universally agreed-upon methodological directives for apprehending educational problems or even the other integrated policies among the contributors to scientific knowledge in this area.[3]

The "critical importance" of education in the the process of social change (and/or constraints) is well acknowledged by both the 'bourgeois' writers/policy-makers/theorists and the Marxist literature, while the related issue of state formations in Third World peripheries is more problematic. The latter discourse approaches the subject of the state from the point of view of its external subordination or "autonomy" (real or imagined) and capacities for accumulation and legitimation, grasped within the compelling worldwide division of labour and existing network of global interdependencies and inequalities. The Marxist discourse on the state and the character of its transformation in the peripheral areas of capitalism have pointed to certain useful analytical underpinnings which have enabled scholars from the Third World (and of the metropole) to frame the problem of colonization historically and structurally. As S. Amin underlines this critical point of departure, there are "certain characteristic structural features that oblige us not to confuse the under-developed countries with the now advanced countries as they were at an earlier stage of their development" (Amin:1976: 201). In other words, the underdeveloped countries embody an exceptional structural-historical trajectory, a theoretical distinction which any sociological generalization would do well to clearly acknowledge.

---

[3]As the noted political sociologist S.N. Eisenstadt has remarked: "[T]endencies to change are inherent in all human societies, because they face basic problems to which no overall continuous solution exists" (1982:534).

From the vantage point of the established "reproduction theory" approach of schooling, the dominant ideological apparatus of the state (Althusser's ISA) is conceptualized within the shifting network of global economic (imperialist) inter-dependencies and alliances managed by these transnational institutions in conjunction with the national/repressive states of what can only loosely be termed the Third World nations (Carnoy:1974).[4] The colonial state has always been entrusted with centralized control of the public education system and the national curriculum which have, for the most part been inherited wholesale by the post-colonial state after independence. In a variety of ways, the Namibian nation and education system have emerged from the socio-political practices of colonialism and *apartheid* , discussed below. The discursive practices offered in this study are embedded broadly within this radical or 'critical' paradigm which enables us to more acutely approach the essential features of education in a systematically underdeveloped country like Namibia. Others may insist on referring to this approach as Neo-Marxist.

Contextually speaking, the growing body of interdisciplinary research suggests that the problems involved around Southern Africa are rather complex and even more daunting than elsewhere in the continent. Racial powerlessness and conventional illiteracy go hand in hand with entrenched national oppression and exploitation. Briefly stated, the differentials in wealth, skills and education between the races/ethnicities have been more systematically and intensively cultivated by the racist policies and doctrine of *apartheid*, deliberately condemning millions of Africans south of the Limpopo to a vicious pattern of forced tribal isolation and enslavement in the form of decayed ethnic-based Bantustans. The ongoing crisis in the education system, Evans writes "has spurred investigations into the links between the racial form of education and the racial form of the exploitation process in South Africa" (Evans:1991:193). South Africans had sought to legitimize their

---

[4] On the notion of reproduction in social theory used by "radical educators", Henry A. Giroux suggests "In the last decade, Karl Marx's concept of reproduction has been one of the major organizing ideas informing socialist theories of schooling..." in "Theories of Reproduction and Resistance in the New Sociology of Education: A Critical Analysis." *Theory and Resistance in Education.* Vol. 53, #3, 1983:257.

occupation of Namibia by propagating and enforcing apartheid's racial laws/mystifications which conditioned the production process, educational policies and the nature of property relations in Namibia. All these ethnic 'Homelands' are either directly or indirectly subordinated to the domination of international capitalism and the *apartheid* state's policies of cheap labour and maximum profit accumulation/exploitation strategies. Site after site, conditions for progress in literacy development and subsequent use were very limited for the majority of the African population living under such extractive/oppressive policies imposed in the first place by conquest and racist violence. This condition represents the pre-reform reality of Namibia.

Within the overall State-prescribed "Bantu curriculum" system, Africans in Namibia were thus broken down under eleven 'distinct' ethnic groupings and separate "Bantu" educational administrative bodies and authorities. The manifest dominance of the coercive and racist apartheid State in all spheres of social reproduction and administration is fundamental to understanding the apartheid state, and the racial character of the educational process.[5] This was clearly pointed out by H. Verwoerd who as prime minister of South Africa (1958-1966) offered some reflections on the earlier stages and mechanisms of the phenomenon. According to this statesman of *apartheid*, the imperatives of the Bantu Education Act, are "necessary [in order that] native education be controlled in such a way that it should be in accordance with the policy of the state" (Pomeroy:1973:19) which sustains racial domination/exploitation in the form of territorial apartheid. Who controls the educational institutions and knowledge "in the final analysis", even though the different "Bantu authorities" mediate the process is not left to speculation.

However expressed, the accumulative imperatives of the centralized and bureaucratic/repressive colonial-*apartheid* state and the provision of 'formal' and subordinate education for Africans have been intimately associated at least since the onset

---

[5]A recent report on the distribution of wealth in South Africa states: The richest 5 per cent of the population own 88 per cent of all private property" (The Globe and Mail, 5. 18. 93).

of Western colonialism. This suggests that the political economy of apartheid and the process of "bantustanization" of African educational opportunities provide the critical stepping stones to more closely and historically analyze the educational reform process underway in post-apartheid Namibia.

Certain facts and assumptions concerning "Bantustans" are pertinent from the outset. *Bantu* is the racial reference given to all Africans, much like the designation *Indian* applied to all indigenous peoples in North America. Bantustans represent more than geographic and political enclosures for Africans. As apartheid's legacies of forced migratory labour and sources of the "contract system" which have been imposed on the indigenous African workforce, Bantustans or ethnic *Homelands* have been violently constructed through state-enforced police repression under a series of terroristic white-minority dictatorships. For generations, the migratory cycles of the white-owned labour process literally controlled the destinies of captive and separated African families, whose ancient/traditional support systems were crushed by extra-economic compulsion akin to an extended 'primitive accumulation' of which Marxists theorize.

In a revealing statement on the issue of so-called "black universities" located in these ethnic *Homelands*, Hendrik Verwoerd once elaborated how this was consistent with the apartheid mission to prepare blacks "psycho-ideologically for the position in which the Bantustans placed them physically and politically" (Evans:1991:197). In other words, blacks had to also be socialized to their disadvantage and racial inferiority. This 'totalitarian' manner of thinking promotes the systematic 'ontological inferiority' of black Africans and reinforces the traits of racial domestication/exploitation as powerful levers of social control and capital *accumulation*. The overall educational policy objectives/strategies pursued in Namibia were in structure and substance indistinguishable from those operating in South Africa until the former's independence. Throughout colonial history, education for Africans has always been scarce and "grossly inferior to that given to whites" (Pomoroy:1973:19).

Apartheid (literally apartness) is inscribed throughout the entire dynamics of State formation in Southern Africa. Racial hierarchies are 'systemic' and enforced in everyday public life and schooling segregating the very intersubjectivities of the individuals (Memmi/Fanon:1965) right down to the educational practice and relations learned in the classrooms. It is important to realize that in the "real world", the lines of both "correspondence" and "reproduction" are rarely drawn in such categorically racial terms. The South African experience approximates the 'idealized' model possible in theoretical discourse, though today's falling Boers are applying much-needed efforts of "normalization". To be sure, "the production and reproduction of real life" attendant upon social change is less predictable than implied in grand scholarly-theoretical formulations and discursive practices. Hence, the sometimes identifiable non-correspondence of economic life and educational realities which lead to historic changes, discontinuations/ transformations or transitional uncertainties at best. The collapse of the 'iron curtain' has intensified or accelerated all the latent contradictions and desperate economic needs in peripheral capitalist states in the most exceptional manner.

Namibia has become independent in March 1990. Henceforth, the role and character of the post-colonial state becomes crucial in mediating the contradictions and tensions inherent in the ascendant educational policies. These observations, positioned at the onset of this study, provide the general intellectual context and State-centered theoretical orientation on which this evaluative inquiry will be methodologically grounded.

In summation, this thesis attempts a thematic inquiry into how education and social change have been historically configured in Namibia with a critical focus on appraising the post-apartheid phase of restructuring/reforming that process. Hence, the political character of the process of transformation is an important analytical emphasis assumed for this purpose.

Chapter 1

Methodological/Analytical Presuppositions

That the value of the world lies in our interpretation (- that our interpretations are merely human ones are perhaps somewhere possible-); that previous interpretations have been perspective valuations by virtue of which we can survive in life, i.e., in the will to power; for the growth to power; that every elevation of man brings with it the overcoming of narrower interpretations; that every strengthening and increase of power opens up new perspectives and means believing in new horizons-this idea permeates my writings. The world with which we are concerned is false. . . ; it is "in flux," as something in a state of becoming, as a falsehood always changing but never getting near the truth: for- there is no "truth".

Nietzsche

Approach to Subject Matter

It is pointless to enter into an ultimately unresolvable philosophical debate about the best possible variety of theoretical conceptualizations/approaches and tendencies featured in volumes of academic literature concerned with 'development' research on Africa and Namibia in particular. Other works provide a more systematic and focused insight into the major intellectual traditions and methodological currents animating explanatory social science/theory discourse in this area. There are, in other words, different ways of approaching this thesis i.e., different interpretations/valuations of the world are possible. The immediate challenge assumed, in this chapter, is to systematically delineate the underlying multidisciplinary theoretical framework or 'logics' that structures the overall analytical perspective brought to bear on the subject. This perspective or approach necessarily outlines, informs and permeates all the major arguments presented in the following chapters.

Of these different theoretical perspectives, it has been suggested that the Marxist discourse is best-suited for the present inquiry. One terminological qualification appears to be in order. Namely, *Marxism* of the 'actually existing socialist' or Soviet-sponsored Stalinist genre has run into a well-deserved historical/ideological *cul de sac,* and is not an

issue to be summoned here. Operating ideologically in the sphere of super-power hegemonic struggle for some seven decades, it had created its own paradigm of universality and associated modernist evolutionarism of so-called non-capitalist development by "stages", a theory whose contribution to the theories of social change has now expired or collapsed along with all the hegemonic powers and claims of the Soviet state which this ideology had nurtured and helped sustain for the duration. Its own imperialist and unilinear conception of historical-social change 'by stages' was primarily committed to the defence of "socialism in one country", and has little basis in the concrete history of the underdeveloped countries themselves (Mamdani et. al:1988:975).

At any rate, we are not concerned with the viability or desirability of either Cold War established notions or models of 'development' here. *Marxism* in this discussion only refers to a distinct philosophical-intellectual interpretation or 'research programme' (Lakatos) which locates the sociological origins of the contemporary 'human situation' and social change within the ever changing history and conflict-ridden dynamics of 'actually existing capitalism' conceptualized as a dynamic world system occasioned by class/ national struggles. This research programme therefore espouses dynamic conflict or struggle as a crucial and inevitable dimension of social change and 'contradictions' as essential to change. In Marx's own famous words, quoted by Dahrendorf "Without conflict, no progress: this is the law which civilization has followed to the present day" (1959:27). Though the economically exploitative basic relations of production between labour and capital, first identified brilliantly by Marx, are similar in *effect* everywhere, their details and parameters for progressive social change vary according to the specific conditions prevailing in each national formation. It needs to be emphasized here that extra-economic compulsion, legal or extrajudicial, or simply violence assumes a greater role in the reproduction of capitalism in the peripheries (Fanon: 1960).

In other words, racial, ethnic and national conflicts (institutional and existential), perhaps understated by Marx, represent important sources of change in the Non-European

peripheries or the 'conditioned' formations of the capitalist mode of production, as Samoff and Carnoy describe it. This research programme of 'political economy' allied with contemporary contributions from Third World sources, serves best to organize the mass of relevant thought material available on Namibia. More complex structures of class and race, than those foreseen by Marx, regulate the process of social change in this "microregion" of Africa. This is where the indigenous neo-Marxist literature in the style of Cabral, Fanon, Amin takes over.

Considered briefly at the most abstract and generalized theoretical level, increasing globalization/internationalization in any sphere of social relations (military, political, technical, intellectual-cultural-educational) tends to promote further "extraversion" in the subordinated social formations of Africa as Amin emphasizes in his theories on peripheral social change. As Sayer has usefully pointed out, history in this case means promoting Occidental progress and "possessing history is a prerogative of the Western World"(1990: 15), reinforcing Amin's analytical perspective of 'extraverted' social change reinforced by technological and economic dependence. This general theoretical framework is useful in assessing the specific momentum of social change and educational practices involved over the last two centuries in Namibia.

At the frontline of critical thought in this area, Amin distinguishes two possible modes of analysing this "dominant social reality of our world (capitalism)" and suggests a decisive framework for a conceptual understanding of the arguments advanced in this thesis.

> The first stresses the fundamental relationship which defines the capitalist mode of production at its most abstract level, and, from there, focuses on allegedly fundamental class struggle between the proletariat, in the narrowest sense of the term, and the bourgeoisie. *The second stresses the other dimension of capitalist reality, its unequal development world-wide, and hence focuses its analysis on the consequences of that polarization involved at every level, thus defining others in the political and social struggles that occupy the front of the historical stage. Here I opt for the second way of seeing what I as a result call "actually existing capitalism"* (1990:99 - emphasis added).

The basic theoretical underpinnings of this study are thus informed by the fundamentals of explicating 'actually existing capitalism' in the peripheries as communicated by Samir Amin. The underlying theoretical principles of this particular perspective were elaborated over a crucial period of Africa's post-colonial history and yield powerful insights into the political economy of peripheral 'man'. It is after all people who change societies. In his capacity as director for the African Institute of Development and Planning (IDEP), Amin observed historical sociology unfolding in this continent at close range, as it were. His critique in this case was directed at the practical consequences of the entrenched "project" analysis/mentality embedded at the core of most transnational and multilateral "developmental planning" programmes, framed almost wholly by Eurocentric perspectives of social change. The ideology of progress has been replaced by Shivji's "ideology of developmentalism' (1985). Offering perhaps the most consistent critical analysis of Africa's contemporary states and conditions, Amin's arguments are expounded methodically and generally in juxtaposition to the dominant modernization premises which remain entangled throughout the field of contemporary 'development' discourse. On the basis of extended study in Africa, Amin thus opts for the Marxian "theoretical model of accumulation [which is] much richer than all the 'empirical' methods constructed subsequently (UD:75). As Mamdani et. al. emphasize "A theory which saw conflict as 'dysfunctional', could not possibly identify sources of tension in the system" (1988:973). In other words, the study of conflict is an important element of this conceptual framework.

Samir Amin, one of the most articulate of contemporary Marxist scholars of the Third World, argues that this cultural/intellectual phenomenon of *Eurocentrism,* which all but denies the ravages of the slave trade, outright plunder and exploitation under postulated 'universal harmonies' is itself "specifically modern", with philosophical roots extending to the humanistic sentiments of the post-Enlightenment era. When 'man' was constituted as an object of knowledge, it was in fact Western man that became both the subject and

repository of the so-called 'human essence'. Eurocentrism in social theorizing expressed this totalizing function in the politico-ideological instances of 'binarism' (Edward Said's focus of attention) within which the central formations had evolved. The postulated hierarchical distinctions between Europeans and non-Europeans began to be exhaustively rationalized.[6] As a body of sociological and historical theory, however, it did not fully "flourish until the nineteenth century" (Amin:1990) precisely at the moment when Europe began its colonial 'scramble' for global supremacy and 'compulsive' integration of the peripheries into the industrialized international network of "interdependencies"- to employ the currently political correct term for Lenin's imperialism - or what is descriptively referred to as simply 'the world economy' in the depoliticized language of the dominant paradigm today. Precisely at this juncture, the human/moral/intellectual status of the colonized races or the 'other' therefore became problematic as well.

Thus "as civilization was correlated with literacy, it meant that all non-literate people, including all Negro peoples in Africa, were lower and more primitive than Europeans." The subsequent drive towards founding 'schools' for 'natives' or Colonizing/Controlling the mental horizons of Africans by way of limited formal education and missionary schooling, brought out the educative dimensions promoted by the colonial state. In fundamental ways, the Namibian education system has emerged maturely from the oppressive economic and political practices of capitalism, colonialism and racist *apartheid* education.

Approached from this perspective of global accumulation and social change, Namibia may be situated in one of the three 'macroregions' of the continent otherwise known as the "Africa of the labour reserves" (Amin/Arrighi/Saul). This distinction does

---

[6]The following quotation in a dated but still excellent discussion of the race question in modern science offers a confirmation of this hypothesis. In Little's view: "The latter nineteenth century was notable, too, not only for the parcelling out of black Africa amongst the European powers, but for the readiness with which the imperialist tendencies were rationalized. Extensive use, in which the British joined, was made of racial myths. . . which affirmed the superior race to be white and attributed biological inferiority to the colored races" (1958:44).

serve rather well to illuminate the political and economic configurations of the modern national formations and institutions which have evolved evolved within the global structures and unique "superstructures" found in Southern Africa.

The theoretical-epistemological approach to the subject mapped out in this discussion so far draws extensively from the conceptual tools elaborated by what Schumpeter calls 'historical sociology' research (in particular the Marxist current) as articulated by a prominent African theorist committed to the critical programme in the tradition of Marxist political economy. At the same time, it critiques and eschews universalist presuppositions, and 'egocentric' (Fanon:1961) Western conceptualizations of man and history,[7] which have been demonstrably revived today as fundamentals (explicitly or implicitly) of modernization theory. .[8] While modernization theory evidently holds out theoretical promises of universalized 'stages' of development to be attained by contemporary Africa, somehow reproducing or even replicating the process of capitalist modernity traversed in the metropoles, this is by no means the tendency of social change discerned from the historical-structural perspective. This is well illustrated in the debilitating economic, nutritional, social and educational marginalization experienced by the majority of Africans today. That is to say, the process of underdevelopment deepens in successive generations, giving rise to the notion of Frank's 'development of under-development'.

Marx's exposition of the capitalist mode of production represents the theoretical baseline for the development of critical political economy in its contemporary form. Karl Marx's own methodological points of departure and analysis of the capitalist mode of production are embodied in his protracted critique of political economy as practiced by what he calls the "bourgeois political economists" of the neo-classical type who, according to

---

[7]The critique of Eurocentrism offered in this study draws its observations from S. Amin's 1989 work Eurocentrism.

[8]In W.W. Rostow's formulations, we are given exemplary reminders of what precisely the universalising modernization doctrine of Eurocentrism amounts to in academic discourse.

Marx, failed to adequately diagnose the internationalization process of capital and its manifold "laws of motion" or crucial processes of reproduction, thereby failing to properly address all the important social tensions inherent in the theory and practice of global political economy. It must be emphasized here that the principles first elaborated by K. Marx's Critique of Political Economy[9] provides us with the most comprehensive point of departure for thus accessing and analyzing the manifold problems raised in the course of the following theoretical discussions. In fact, according to K. Marx "Ricardo's school simply shirked the problem, they did not solve it" (Vol.1:1986:483). Put simply, they failed to adequately account for the origin of surplus value or its integral component profit inherent in "the labour-process" of capitalism and its self-expansion on a global scale. According to this Marxist critique, the neo-classical school tends to view "capitalism" as merely a "factor" in the entire production process, thereby, ultimately obscuring its *original* and *internal* structural relation to the rate and scope of social exploitation accelerated ever more by its process of internationalization/globalization. More to the point, according to K. Marx's critique, despite his (Ricardo's) considerable insights into the labour theory of value:

> Ricardo never concerns himself about the origin of surplus value. He treats it as a thing inherent in capitalist mode of production, which mode, in his eyes, is the natural form of social production. Whenever he discusses the productiveness of labour, he seeks in it, not the cause of surplus value, but the cause that determines the magnitude of that value. On the other hand, his school has openly proclaimed the productiveness of labour to be the originating cause of profit read: surplus value (1966,Vol I:483).

Thus, according to Marx the "chief failings" of classical economy is that "it has never succeeded, by means of its analysis of commodities, and, in particular, of their value, in discovering that form under which value becomes exchange-value" and what is more "Even Adam Smith and Ricardo, the best representatives of the school, treat the form

---

[9]The sub-title of Capital.

of value as a thing of no importance, as having no connection with the inherent nature of commodities" (Vol. I:486).

The process of concrete production of commodities for exchange and the generation of surplus-value within nations and across the various regions of the capitalist world economy on an ever "expanded scale" constitutes the underlying basis of Marxist theorizing on the capitalist world-economy. As Marx puts it in Das Capital, labour power is the irreducible basis for production, while "the circulation of commodities is the starting-point of capital." In time, geographic expansion presupposed localized control of the production 'spaces', markets and populations overseas. Once this fundamental basis of his critique is established we are more able, theoretically speaking, to come to grips with the critical aspects of K. Marx's own pioneering research into the phenomenon of capitalist accumulation/internationalization and the problematics of surplus value realization in the epoch of capitalism and imperialism (in Lenin's sense), which then provides the analytical backdrop for exploring the different variables on hand. Employing the methodological/ analytical principles of what is broadly known as the world-systems perspective, the paper has argued, it is possible to survey the series of educational and political issues problematized in this thesis.

The method of analysis typically departs by recognizing the existing capitalist world system and its accumulative/exploitative self-interest, expressed theoretically in the so-called *self-valorization* process, otherwise known as the manufacture of surplus value, which from this perspective constitutes the fundamental ecomonic mechanism responsible for propelling this global expansion beyond its 'cradle' in Western Europe and more specifically, England. The "inner tendency" of this process is characterized by what Marx described as a continuous *subsumption* process which strives "...(1) continually to enhance the periphery of circulation; (2) to transform it at all points into production spurred on by capital" (Marx:1974:408) until the labour process world-wide becomes "the instrument of the valorization process". This methodical expansion of modern capitalism

projected overseas under the "compulsion to produce surplus value" constitutes for Marx a "fundamental imperative" of the system's overall reproductive mechanism and valorization process to proceed. Drawing from the political economy of Marx, Amin drives this insight further when he observes that while international capitalism begets bourgeois democracy at the metropolitan centers, "in the periphery on the contrary, this prospect was excluded right from the start" (1990:233).

The focus of the more recent so called neo-Marxist restatement of the problematic is centered on the premise that "under-development was not a pre-modern or a pre-capitalist stage of development, mirroring a similar stage in the history of modern developed capitalist societies, but that it was a special product of the very development of world capitalism since the 15th century" (EPW:1988:975) a line of reasoning strongly supporting Amin's position rehearsed above.[10]

In this connection some of the recent contributions influencing the discourse of 'underdevelopment' deserve particular attention. Wallerstein's own classic world-system analysis is one variant of this theoretical preoccupation with the precise characteristics of the peripheral formations. For Wallerstein, this intervention had provoked ecomomic changes of "historic magnitude" instituting growing social/regional inequalities and structural polarities in what he designates as the 'world economic system'. Thus, in his own words "If the world system is the focus of analysis, and if in particular we are talking of the capitalist world-economy, then divergent historical patterns of social change are precisely to be expected. They are not an anomaly but the essence of the system...Anyway it is natural under capitalism, and we may talk of the core, the periphery and the semi-periphery of the world economy" (1975:23).

Gunder Frank's popular metropolis-satellite dialectic and sustained arguments that "economic development and underdevelopment are the opposite faces of the same coin"

---

[10]The very concept of 'underdevelopment' has also been criticized for defining Third World formations in relation to the 'core', see Mamdani, Mkandawire, and Wamba-dia-Wamba:977. I believe this critique may be analytically valid if further details on the internal characteristics of the dependent societies are omitted.

offers another angle of the proposition (1979:17). Amin comments that that by the 1960's Franks' 'famous phrase' "development of underdevelopment" had posited an alternative expectation of social change in the peripheries effectively "challenging the theoretical expectation of homogenization" and adds that World-wide polarization (in terms not merely of wealth and structures but also quality of life) has instead been the central reality (1990: 50). In short, peripheral history does not lend itself to the unilinear path of continuous/ analogous modernist progress speculated by much of ninetenth century evolutionary theorizing and subsequent universalized ahistorical hypothesis of social change and development posited by theorists employing structural-functionalism. In contrast to the principle of extraversion, Amin therefore supplied the principle of autocentric development to underline the great discrepancies and different structural interconnections historically assumed between the cores and the peripharies of the polarizing capitalist world system.

Throughout the Third World, grossly deformed progenies of capitalist modernity are found in various industrial-urban centers of the peripheries. Compradorism informs the socioeconomic dynamics of a small industrial enclave within the dependent political economy of the peripheries. For the most part, the auxiliary 'native' or 'intermediary' bourgeoisie merely imitates the modern Western models of consumption and sociation in a 'conditioned' (Cardoso/Faletto/Carnoy/Samoff/Fanon) capitalist techno-economically dependent and agrarian infrastructure dominated by foreign transnationals.[11] Implied in the 'conditioning' phrase is the extraversion of knowledge and education, which in Carnoy/Samoff's view as firmly integrated into the 'capitalist knowledge hierarchy', bureaucratically projected from centers of capitalist production and accumulation onto the peripheries.

The education apparatus of the 'conditioned' state thus assumes a pivotal role in reproducing the 'structures of domination' prevailing in the African periphery while

---

[11]Carnoy and Samoff have chosen this term over *dependency* to better define the inherited peripheral power-dynamics that characterizes the overall structural conditioning within which the peripheral state apparatus must operate.

simultaneously producing the skill demands complementary to the metropole's *autocentric* regime of accumulation. The issue of educational 'relevance', which has gained prominence of late is a telling indictment of this phenomenon. Others (Carnoy/Samoff) have recently focused on the constraining educational implication of this entrenched extraversion of the dependent state apparatus which conditions educational processes and opportunities in peripheral social formations accordingly. Carnoy and Samoff have suggested that educational policies play a critical role in "establishing and maintaining the legitimacy of the current regime and the state structure itself" within the global hierarchy of domination/subordination. The 'conditioned' state may thus be typically determined by "the nature of the peripheral role that its economy plays in the world system and the corresponding enormous influence that the dynamic of metropolitan capitalism has on its development process" (Çarnoy/Samoff:1990: 21). We shall return to this issue when exploring Namibian specifics.

The concern in this study is to interpret the overall patterns of economic, socio-political forces of change that have historically given rise to "actually existing capitalism" as a world-wide phenomenon of domination and exploitation and apply its lessons to the subject matter. In broad outlines, as initiated by S. Amin, the inquiry is then able to situate Namibia's specific relationships within the rise of capitalism and imperialism in Africa of 'the labour reserves'. In this quest, the materialist historical sociology of Marxism "the heart and soul of which is a critical analysis of capital and capitalism" (Sweezy) assumes increasing centrality as we proceed further into the contextual investigation of the capitalist 'mode of production' in the periphery itself. This is a uniquely Marxist theoretical problematic. The methodological discourse explored here, therefore, gives special consideration to the original writings of K. Marx and other African and prominent Third and Fourth World centered Marxist theoreticians who work out of this classical paradigm of political economy (Samir Amin, Arrighi, Baran, Frank, Wallerstein, Rey, Rodney, Meillassoux, Laclau, Cabral among others) have brought the debate forward to the 1990s.

The noted scholar Samir Amin resumes the Marxist arguement for the 1990's by vigorously defending the *dependency* framework as still operative and valid :

> ..."dependency", which is supposedly out of fashion, is a glaring fact, and its intensification is confirmed by all the studies of the "technology gap", foreign debt, models of globalisation diffused by the mass media, and so on, This dependency is neither the cause nor the effect of disparities in income distribution. Along with the disparity to which it is closely linked, dependency is *inherent* in the world expansion of capitalism. It is one side of the coin whose other side is the compradorization of the privileged classes, who benefit from the expansion and are the transmitters of dependency not its victims (Amin:1992:41 - emphasis added)

Among the manifold contradictions spawned by this prevailing 'centre-periphery' contradictions or polarization, *inherent* in the world expansion of capitalism, Amin focuses on the global *widening diparity in income distribution* in this particular passage. Others focus on the debt issue yet others on unequal exchange.

Not only is *dependency*, however defined, a "glaring fact" at this level, but Amin argues that its acceleration or intensification in the formerly Third World has in fact created a category of marginalized nations that have come to comprise the fourth world. These are mainly concentrated in Sub-Sahara Africa and are characterized by their inability "to reproduce themselves on an extended scale, or even in some cases to hold their own." In Amin's definition the "Fouth World" refers to nations "which were formerly integrated into the capitalist system and have been marginalized by the resulting exhaustion of their natural resources". Less technically, Amin refers to these countries as "the destitute and discarded countries...that have expired under liberal treatment"[12] and have become unintelligible in the context of orthodox modernization theory.

In summary, it is suggested here that Marx's writings offer powerful methodological insights for interpreting the dynamics of the capitalist mode of production which he analyzed like "clockwork" to employ Amin's description of Marx's "Fetishism of

---

[12]Ibid., see pp. 12, 30, 42 respectively for Amin's treatment of "Fourth Worldization".

Commodities" in Das Capital 1. It is in this particular direction that Marx's conceptualizations offer an alternative historiography from which many critical scholars of 'dependency' and 'underdevelopment' draw intellectual inspiration. Amin demonstrates the profound impact and promises of Marx's methodology in this area in an instructive way. "Marxism was founded on an awareness of the historical limits of the culture of the enlightenment in relation to its real social content: namely the rationalization of the national, European and global capitalist project. It is for this reason that the tools developed by Marxism have the potential capacity to surpass the contradictions over which the Enlightenment *philosophes* stumbled" (1989: 119). It is precisely this alternative insight that has given vitality to the Marxist interpretation of historical sociology and world development today. It is also precisely for this reason that the dynamics of capitalism and modernity should manifest qualitatively and quantitatively different traits and historical directions for "Africa of the labour reserves".

In the context of Africa, the basic characteristics of the social structures/relations and the state in particular have thus assumed a qualitatively different path of historic development fashioned primarily under the impact of colonial racial subordination and capitalist exploitation. Summarized conveniently in Amin's concept of extraversion, the influences of modernity and capitalism thus take varied forms in the peripheral/dominated extremities as indicated by the theoretical 'model of accumulation' in the Africa of the labour reserves. The concepts of dependency, unequal development, extraversion, marginalization, surplus-extraction, class struggle, proletarianization inform the Marxist theoretical heritage of political economy and historical sociology. From this perspective, the intellectual/cultural expressions of European capitalism and modernity find their projections in the educational structures and history of the colonized and subordinated formations in qualitatively different forms.

In this work, Namibia's historiography of underdevelopment is problematized "as a process, as a structural relation" linked with developments in metropolitan 'home of

capitalism' of Western Europe and the particular configuration of social classes and forces "rooted in the coincidence of interest between local dominant classes and international ones" (Cardoso: 1972, 16). Theoretical inquiry in this paper will emphasize the particularly racial and exploitative character of the capitalist mode in the underdeveloped non-European sections of the globe, without ignoring that the regimen of capital anywhere involves first of all "the extraction of surplus labour... and of the importance of exploitation" (Miliband:1987,325) in order to advance the inner contradictions of extended reproduction. Appreciation of the productivity of labour and the provisions for the reproduction or labour power (skilled or otherwise) as the chief source of 'surplus value' is the hallmark of this theoretical tradition of political economy.

Chapter 2

The Backbone Of Namibia's Educational System: The Missionary Initiative.

For its development... the country does not need 'educated Negros' but competent, intelligent workers. The main emphasis will therefore be on education for obedience, order, punctuality, sobriety, honesty, diligence and moderation, rather than academic learning.

Hoeflich (Cited in N. Ndilula:1983)

Like elsewhere in colonized Africa, the historical evidence in this area of scholarship suggests that European missionaries and their educational practices/ philosophies overseas constitute the starting point for any scholarly discussion on the origins of Namibia's modern and formalized education system. As N. Ndilula clearly observes "As in many African countries, formal education in Namibia began as an adjunct to missionary endeavors" (Ndilula, 1981: 388) and has retained their central characteristics, notwithstanding its progressive secularization in the course of colonization.

Throughout the continent, for a long time, the education of Africans was considered the exclusive purview of European Christian missionaries well into the middle of the 20th century. With the more effective consolidation of the colonial regimes or states, educational services for 'natives' became increasingly legislated/centralized falling within the domain of the colonial state apparatus 'in formation' as it were. The missionary ethos, according to which imported religious instruction and a limited understanding of European language became the lynch pin for partaking in collective human salvation, has noticeably influenced the formulation of schooling for 'native' Africans over the century. With the dominant values this instruction promoted, Namibian children would quickly assume a 'Christian' identity, and actively participate in the specific hierarchy of the colonial 'settlements' on a daily basis and beyond schools.

In search of the wide-ranging pedagogical implications of early Namibian mission schooling for Africans, Kleinhaus and Lewis's recent findings provide an appropriate

overview which casts this long-term *formalization* process proposed within a useful time frame. Strictly speaking, the first formal and secular state school for African's was not established until 1935. In other words, there was exclusive missionary control of African education from 1805 until this period. More specifically still, "There was no state schools for Africans in the north until after 1960". The historical record further indicates that South Africa built only two schools between 1921 and 1940 and these were located in the central region. The quality and quantity of schooling that was available for Africans was also very limited, usually lasting only for five years and designed to instill the spiritual ideals which the missionaries had specifically designed for natives. It was not until 1948 that the first black pupil completed the twelve year sequence known as matriculation. Later still, "The Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Odentaal Plan of 1962 officially promoted [separate development] based on race and then by further ethnic divisions" (MUC Report:1993: 2). By the fifties systematic racial/ethnic fragmentation among Africans and hierarchization/ subordination of all population according to race was complete. In the course of this process of 'expansion' in the sphere of 'native' education, schooling in Namibia had become more secularized and institutionally race/ethnic specific.

Gradually too, the training of teachers fell under the influence and control of the colonial authorities and the teachers salaries began to depend increasingly upon the colonial regime. The groundwork for what was considered 'proper' education for Africans however had already been more or less established by Christian missionaries. School policies, curriculum and practices had been clearly oriented at adjusting the subjective/ objective circumstances of Africans as reaffirmed by Hoeflich above. The main emphasis of the authorities was not to cultivate 'educated Negroes' but was grounded towards generating an obedient and docile labour force in an imperialist engendered socioeconomic reality. Colonial education and social institutions would take up this foundational emphasis and elaborate its structural and ideological expressions to newer phases. This much is

certain and relatively uncontroversial and, in general, applicable to most of the continent's primary encounter with what is known as *formal* education.

The available research in this area indicates almost unanimously that Western missionaries of various denominations and their evangelical imperatives were ultimately responsible for establishing/maintaining the necessary pre-conditions for the formative emergence of modern or 'formal' education systems. As acknowledged in a relatively recent IDAF publication on Namibia missionaries had represented a formidable political and social force in the overall colonization process of the territories. As the nineteenth century advanced assorted Christian missionaries and traders began to penetrate Namibia from the Cape and impose the social and economic supremacy of Europeans by various methods and processes. Almost simultaneously new economic and military forces and arrangements began to undermine the stability of Namibian societies and led to political and social divisions and stratifications (IDAF, 1989:9). On the specifics of pedagogy, the pattern of educating Namibians had already been established through missionary organizations imbued through and through with ideas of Occidental racial supremacy/superiority, a characteristic doctrinal trait almost universally shared by all European Christian churches of the day. In effect, pedagogy was elaborated around the issue of race and scriptures which colonialism later strengthened by appeal to, science, biology and irreconcilable cultural differences.

As explicated in the foregoing theoretical sections of this study, if Eurocentrism may be loosely regarded as a central dimension "of the culture and ideology of the modern capitalist world" as specified by Amin, then Wesleyan missionaries certainly qualify as among the earliest propagators of this assimilationist pedagogic principle in the territories of North-West Africa. Historically, Wesleyan churches are recorded as the first to arrive in Namibia in 1805 and had exercised more or less a monopoly on Christian proselytization in certain readily accessible parts of the country. At the core of its doctrine, the evangelical visions of Wesleyan missionaries required the teaching of "the principles of Christianity

and conformity to British standards of civilization" as M. Owen (in Kach and Mazurek, 1992: 39) recounted in his study of the British Wesleyan Missionary Society and its activities among Canada's 'Native' and indigenous populations. No less or different in Namibia, Wesleyan missionaries presented themselves as the consummate guardians of Christian morals and Western civilization fulfilling "a calling" among what are essentially primitive and sinful heathens. All Africans were *Bantus* and *Natives* and all needed to be evangelized/civilized by missionaries for their own benefits. In this way, the principles of Christianity coincided neatly with those of the 'stabilizing functions' and principles of encroaching imperialism.

In what follows, the focus is mainly on the central ideological instances surrounding these missionary intrusions and their reproductive implications over the long-range provision of African education and relations of imperialist exploitation/subordination. In this context, I hope to convey the central educational policies upon which the foundational pedagogic ideas and institutions of early African education in colonial Namibia were predicated. They determine the overall arrangement of the formalized educational structures inherited and refined by the colonial state which are in the process of being displaced or reformed by the post-apartheid state of Namibia. The majority of Namibians have had direct exposure to these racially preferential policies only. The concept of "Education" may be a misnomer in this case since the 'intervention' of missionaries primarily aimed to first do away with or displace the 'native' culture, convert the indigenous population to Christianity and render it useful to the economic and socio-psychological demands of European civilization. The education in question is primarily a process of imperialist *modification* . This rationale helped formulate the colonial school policy and eventually led to the brutalizing 'Bantu Education' system. It is on the terrain of Christianity therefore that 'native' Africans first came to acquire a consciousness of themselves as students and the colonized 'other'. Let us therefore try to place the educational intervention of missionaries in a more contextual and critical framework.

In a *Dying Colonialism*, Fanon expounds on the psychological offensive of colonialism and its pedagogical implications on the colonized precisely from this standpoint. According to his observations: "The colonized, in the face of the emphasis given by the colonialist to this or that aspect of his traditions, reacts very violently. The attention devoted to modifying this aspect, the emotion the conqueror puts into his pedagogical work, his prayers, his threats, weave a whole universe of resistance around this particular element of the culture" (1959:Chapter 5).

Certain scholars have looked at this missionary intervention in Namibia's education system rather critically, that is as a principal site designed to reproduce foreign or imperialist material and cultural hegemony. Nghidi Ndilula, for instance, more directly locates his historical analysis of Namibia's formal education system with the arrival of European missionaries/traders and *colonialism*, pointing at the close relationship between religion, colonialism and the *material* forces of imperialist domination or "mechanics of power" (Foucault: 1984)". The position he adopts is a familiar one among Marxist-oriented African scholars, in that it proceeds to explain and unravel the Christian evangelization process of the early mission establishment/schools as an intricate part of the hegemonic cultural/ideological reflexes of worldwide European imperial expansion which forcefully rearranges "aboriginal" societies to its needs and interests. This is pursued in an active and pedagogical sense. The intrinsic rationale of missionary education was not merely the creation of subservient minds as emphasized here, but involved the the articulation of a certain labour force necessary to advance European civilization in that part of the world. It is also one of the crucial and certain processes by which natives may assimilate themselves to colonization. From this perspective, early schooling was mainly a milieu of discipline and conversion/assimilation through the bible, considered the most pertinent text to be studied and obeyed. Schooling and baptism were more or less indistinguishable at this stage. Missionaries also converted native catechists by more rigorously instilling the basic principles of Christianity and instructed obedience/respect

and submission to the dominant civilization and its Caucasian agents. Under the guise of offering Christian 'education' these early collaborators mainly enforced certain modes of behavior, responses, values, allegiances and ideals which bore on submission to white missionaries, the schools primary disciplinary function at this point. In this way the ideology of the missionaries, transmitted through missions was a powerful force for instilling effective cultural/spiritual hegemony and domination over the conquered peoples of Namibia at various levels.

From this vantage point, missionary institutions represent alien instruments of social and ideological control/discipline however exercised in the name of an abstract 'God', and articulated according to the specific religious doctrines of the missionaries in question (N.Ndilula/H. Hunke). In all cases however, missionaries adopted the mystical attitude of serving a transcendent "higher order" to be attained by commitment to white Christianity as delivered by the mission schools and their representatives. Ritual memorization was encouraged as the most honorable access to learning and filial obedience the highest unwritten virtue. Through the intervention of mission schools and the holy orders of missionaries, it was assumed, all Africans would be eventually evangelized into this "higher" order of rationality and civilization and thereby saved from their allegedly brutalizing 'native' spirits of their ancestors. Rural mission schools were from the outset directed toward this objective of rescuing the African from his cultural inheritances. This rationality of imperialism, as Mathur remarks "has tended to exclude different and broader types of reason for gaining acceptance at all points to which its own domain extends" (Alternatives 1989:471).

Notwithstanding the evangelical flair of all the heavenly-bound rhetoric, the major role of missionary education is best perceived in ideological and economic terms i.e., primarily as an ideological intervention for shaping/delivering 'docile'[13] and God-fearing

---

[13]The notion of producing "docile" bodies comes from M. Foucault (1984:182) and operates at two levels. On the one hand the policy "increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes

African subservient staff to the White colonizers' expanding 'modern' domestic employment sites in the form of mines and plantations 'on the ground'. To that end, most missionaries adopted 'curriculum' which encouraged the adoption of Christianity (Conversion) as a way of spiritual enhancement and salvation for the subordinated population. The early missions and their schools thus served as early disciplinary institutions however intricately mystified and codified in God's name, and divine providence. The purported salvation of the 'natives' through the benefit of this "civilizing mission" along with the elaborate belief in the "natural superiority" of the European colonizers' informed the core agenda of all Christian missionaries who ventured to South West Africa and Africa in general (Nkrumah/Cabral/Fanon). Pedagogically speaking, their mission institutions taught servile accommodation with the status quo and acceptance of the mechanisms of racial segregation, or what Owen expresses philosophically as the "hierarchical concept of humanity" (1992:42) under material construction as 'colonial settlements' gradually grew in the course of the nineteenth century. Expressed otherwise, a process of imperialist 'normalization' was thus being fashioned in the educational environment of mission schools.

The prominent cleric, Heinz Hunke, adds to the basic veracity of these insights in relation to Namibian circumstances. He writes, "There is no doubt that the Lutheran and Catholic missionaries from Germany were the forerunners and willing supporters of the colonial system which in Namibia-as in South Africa included from the very beginning a hidden but very effective racism" (1981:628). In other words, the doctrinal belief in racial superiority enforced by paternalism occupied a privileged sanctum in missionary pedagogics cum evangelization directed at the black African population. Not so hidden was the widespread belief on the ultimate imperviousness of the African to the more refined Christian schemes of salvation and progress which in turn left open the self-

---

these same forces (in political terms of obedience)" In other words, African labour was entering capitalist-imperialist relations of production and overall "mechanics of power".

legitimation licence of repression and coercion. The condemnation of the black population is always racial in scope and not limited by international boundaries which represent a relatively modern phenomenon for the region under discussion. It is precisely such 'Orientalist' cast of mind towards the conquered, that elevates subsequent pacification massacres against 'natives' to the status of high moral Duty and pedagogy.

As Christian educators, missionaries for a large part supported and legitimated the 'conversion' and domination of Africans through assorted scriptures and incentives, while vigorously condemning indigenous knowledge sources and local modes of worship and spirituality. Such pre-existing practices obviously constituted barriers to their own ideological efforts at instilling the 'desired' Christian faith, diligence and 'appropriate' physical deportment for 'natives'. As a paper delivered by the SWAPO's Women's Solidarity Campaign (SWSC) put the matter of deportment in perspective, "Education for subservience is the legacy of the past..." (p. 425). Likewise for Ndilula, in the final analysis "[a]ll missionary teaching was merely religious indoctrination", aimed originally at 'civilizing' those living near the rural missions and "children of chiefs, servants and converted peasants" to whom the provision of what came to be known as African education was initially limited. It is generally agreed that missionary-sanctioned education was first limited to a selective minority of the indigenous population, notably drawn from the 'traditional' elite and their immediate social milieu. These native dignitaries who received special attention from the hierarchy of the Churches. These elements constituted the original "collaborative" intermediaries of imperialism through which colonialism was partially advanced and the socioeconomic process of accumulation managed.

Not all of the students were convinced or impressed about the effectiveness of missionary education. The Europeanization of the 'privileged' strata appeared to be rather superficial at the best of times. According to the accounts left behind by Herero Chief F. Maharero his people:

> did not learn anything from them except the name of 'God'. The Germans were -afraid of the Hereros people. They did not want them to learn and become civilised as we want today. I was taken to Germany with the others to be shown to the Kaiser because he did not know his black subjects, and also to be taught ...We were there one year (about 1894). We were not taught anything. Only rode about on horses and dressed and drilled as soldiers (cit. in Katjavivi:11).

Clearly, expectations among the *elite* to learn beyond the hypothetical existence of the Christian White 'God' do not appear to have been reciprocated even at this relatively advanced period of missionary encroachment in Namibia. A kind of dual system of education, one for natives and the other exclusively for Europeans, had clearly began to sustain the imperialist reality. Notions of 'fear' and the self-definition as 'subject' by the Chief is instructive as it acknowledges the complex relations of power and domination bound up in the process of the ceremonial 'drills' and shows of allegiance presented as 'education'.

The characteristic motif of the missionary movement appears to be decidedly on the side of religious indoctrination i.e., the spread of Christianity of various European denominations wherever mission 'schools' could be established. According to Ndilula's important contribution to this subject, where missionaries were dispatched to "establish station schools... they were normally aided by local peasants who had been converted to christianity" (1981:388) and might reciprocate by offering volunteer labour power and "gifts of goats cattle, chickens, etc," as an indirect school fee for the fully converted on top of a minimum 'school fee'. Their syllabi inevitably included the ten commandments, among other basic instructions in hygiene, singing, woodwork/brickmaking and so on, Ndilula adds. It needs to be emphasized here that this 'ideal' of Africa 'education' was not designed for the poorest of 'natives' among indigenous populations but to those who would eventually assume positions of 'authority' among the subordinate group. Its costs, directly or otherwise, were also far beyond the reach of the majority of the African population. On the other hand , obedience and submission were not always readily

assured. Most of Southern Africa's illustrious national liberation leaders nourished their earliest dreams of rebellion in mission schools which ironically furnished the only gateway to "modernity", access to European civilization and the dominant culture - with all their subsequent dilemmas for the 'awakening' of the native bourgeoisie, classically explored in Frantz Fanon's writings.

Missionary 'education' thus proved a double-edged sword. Intended or not, the ground for actual colonial occupation by the respective metropolitan "home governments" was prepared by missionary establishments who were entrusted with nothing less than ideologically "destroying the cultural resistance" of natives as a prelude to their full-scale administrative incorporation into the political economy and institutions of the transnational structures of expansive European imperialism. This approach could be likened to that of the skeptics in the contemporary debate of so-called Post-modern social scientists. To illustrate this argument the following concerns are in order:

> The skeptics contend that humanism has been used to justify Western superiority and cultural imperialism. Although bringing modern medicine to primitive people, for example, may have appeared altruistic, compassionate, "humanist" in design, it had the unintended disruptive consequences of introducing all the other aspects of modernity. It often resulted in loss of language and culture. Neo-colonialism was humanist in that it asserted a responsibility to educate primitive peoples, to teach them to read and write. But in most cases education translated into assimilation to the culture of the colonial power, teaching the reading and writing of a foreign language. Similarly, native people in America were moved to reservations because it was said they could not take care of themselves. But along with this "humanism" went a dramatic change in life-style, a decline of population, reduced pride in ethnic identity, and increased disease" (Rosenau:1990:49).

They also argue that although humanists have criticized the abuses of positivism their critique was superficial, and therefore they are directly responsible for the undesirable results entrenched in the peripheries. On the other hand, scholars like Max Beloff apparently disclaim any moral responsibility from the representatives of the West and suggest that the Third World are in fact currently "endangering the tranquility of the West" (Mathor 1989:465). The discussion here also suggests that the earliest missionaries indeed

represent the "advance soldiers" for the imperialist 'civilizing' missions later devastatingly entrenched on Africans in Namibia and throughout the continent. Missionaries represent active agents of this process at this point and cannot be presented as devoid of responsibility in the phenomena studied, moral or otherwise. The imposition of these missions was not without its moments of resistance which ultimately contributed to the rise of nationalist movements such as SWAPO.

In terms of the long-term impact of the missionary movement, "The London Mission Society and Wesleyan churches" are cited as the first to arrive in Namibia in 1805. In 1842 and 1870 respectively however "they were replaced by the Rheinish Mission and the Finnish Mission' (388). These two Missions were the first to establish teacher training centers in Namibia. Under their supervision, decisive progress in institutionalizing the administration and Christian pedagogical philosophy governing the "village schools" and "station schools" were established. Compelled by the shortage of teachers "the Rhenish Mission Society was forced to open a teacher training centre at Otjimbingue (1860-1870) and at Augustineum at Okahanja (1906), while the Finnish Mission Society did the same at Onniipa (1910-1915) and later at Ongwediva and Okahaon in the northern part of Namibia" (388). The imposition of colonial rule in the northern part of the country also came much later. The overall achievements and impact of missionary education ultimately becomes manifest in its practical contributions to date, almost two centuries after the first products of Wesleyan missionaries set foot in what became Namibia.

Despite the presence of these so-called teacher training centres for over a century now, the recent *Broad Policy Directive* of the post-apartheid regime finds primary-level education facilities for Africans in "dilapidated" sheds and corrugated huts and teacher education in disarray or non-existent, to say the least. The presence of widespread "unprofessional behavior in relation to students" and reference to "unscrupulous teachers" and forged certificates for the uncredentialed speaks volumes about the quality of the teachers training guidelines which involves no less than 80% of Namibia's contemporary

learners. The process of teacher training and certification could not have been closely monitored for professional standards and code of ethics. The teacher training missionary apparatus closely watched by the colonial regime could also not have been designed to enhance the process of learning and productivity of indigenous Namibians. To wit, after over a century of colonialism, most areas of Namibia record around 60% illiteracy. In rural schools teacher/pupil ratios average 1 : 50, with general lack of teacher competency and skill bordering on epidemic proportions. Quite explicitly stated 'Learning and teaching conditions in 90% of Namibian schools are unsatisfactory. Most primary school classes in rural areas are overcrowded and lack basic textbooks and classroom equipment (MUC Report:1991:1). In other words, there is acute recognition of the deprived state of primary African 'education' and teacher training facilities for the majority of this non-white population.

These were obviously not the pedagogical outcomes of institutions committed to the the preparation of African students for equal education or even toward meaningful employment. Indeed the missionary imitative cannot be adequately assessed apart from the imperialist context of domination which it perpetrated and was deeply embedded in. The overall low/subordinate status ascribed to Africans were perpetuated in the mechanisms of schooling. Amongst those who have addressed this issue in some detail is Kwame Nkrumah, whose classic depiction of the effects imperialism and missionaries on African peoples' existence may serve as an adequate illustration of this line of thinking at a more general level. Nkrumah's elucidates this consciousness forcefully:

> The effect of this type of imperialism on colonial peoples is dramatic. The stage opens with the appearance of missionaries and anthropologists, traders and concessionaires, and administrators. While 'missionaries' with 'Christianity' perverted implore the subject to lay up his 'treasures in heaven where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt' the traders and concessionaires and administrators acquire his mineral and land resources, destroy his arts, crafts and home industries...(Nkrumah:1965:172).

The entire fabric of the peoples existence is thus destroyed and threatened as such. This coordinated destruction of indigenous treasures, industries and technical skills rooted in centuries-old traditions and informal schooling practices is one of the monumental achievements attributed to missionary contributions in the sphere of modern African education. The educational distortions peculiar to the peripheral formations derive in part from this destructive cultural onslaught by missionaries on traditional knowledge sources and spirituality belatedly recognized as a disastrous vacuum which still persists unattended today. The discourse and spirituality of the colonized, discussed in the next section, becomes purged and abandoned, allowing the discourse of the invader to take precedence. In this way, the devaluing of the self coincides with "devaluing pre-colonial history" in Fanon's words.

Fanon extends this position most eloquently to the sphere of social psychology when he diagnoses the inherently "totalitarian character of colonial exploitation" where the entire moral and material universe of the 'native' must sooner or later be condemned and racialized in order to effectively execute the alienation or "cultural estrangement so characteristic of the colonial epoch." It was the 'Negro' race that was the "haunt for savages", it was Africans who purportedly "were weighed down by the curse of God...riddled with superstition and fanaticism" not to mention cannibalism and barbarism. The evolutionary rationale was advanced to fill the gap of this alleged cultural/spiritual abyss 'discovered' among Africans by Christian missionaries. Colonialism is not simply content with the destruction of indigenous industries and the acquisition of minerals and other resources but also with a perverse domination/dependence of the Africans' mind both on the conscious and subconscious plane. Fanon summarizes the implications of this perspective at some length:

> Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it. This work of devaluing pre-colonial history takes on a

> dialectical significance today... nothing is left to chance and that the total result looked for by colonial domination was indeed to convince the natives that colonialism came to lighten their darkness. The effect consciously sought by colonialism was to drive into the natives' heads the idea that if the settlers were to leave, they would at once fall back into barbarism, degradation, and bestiality (Fanon:1961:211).

For Fanon, missionaries are practically the spiritual/moral guardians and intelligence representatives of metropolitan colonial powers and accordingly the *communiques* of early Christian missions "are in fact a source of information concerning the implantation of foreign influences in the core of the colonized people" (1961:42). Masters at invoking/constructing the racial *Manicheism* that Fanon often speaks of in relation to colonialism, the mission societies do not really call the natives to "God's ways" except in the most simplistic ideological sense recited in their own sermons. Instead, they repeatedly affirm the supremacy of European values by evangelizing the natives' to the ways of the "white man, of the master, of the oppressor" preparing the psychological ground for racial submission/domination or Master-Slave dialectic along which colonized society will inevitably be reorganized and constructed.

From the point of view of knowledge and culture production, with the advances of missionary education whatever the indigenous African people had to teach their children had increasingly little or no validity, including the denigrated local vernacular. African children were asked to shed every aspect of their cultural heritage upon enrollment to mission schools. Approximately five years of training by the Missions and the acquisition of a European language however truncated, was considered superior and more enlightened than anything Africans had to contribute from their past or present. More relevant for our purpose, a passage from Ndilula's work contextualizes the *effect* of this type of cultural imperialism in a more direct fashion:

> The arrival of colonialists and missionaries opened a new chapter in Namibian education by introducing a <u>modern formal type of education</u> that required a different system and structure...The <u>mission societies</u> were the

> first to introduce formal education in Namibia while paving the way for the German colonizers (Ndilula:1983:383).

Thus "hiding behind the hypocritically ideological cloak of Christianity and western civilization" as Theo Ben Gurirab once wrote in direct reference to Namibia, missionaries were responsible for implementing the basis for this "modern formal type of education" and paving the way for territorial colonialism as will be substantiated later. Erastus Haikali adds that in Namibia "the missionary movement and the church later came under severe attack for assisting the colonization and subjection of millions of people by foreign powers. Notwithstanding its self-proclaimed universal relevance the church has correctly been looked at with justified suspicious and, at times, hostility (Haikali: 635) by the Namibian people.

This is not to disregard the Church's considerable contributions when approached at another level and in the latter phases of colonialism. Around two-thirds of Namibian's claim to be Christians today after all. Our primary concern in this section is to promote a more coherent understanding of this symbiotic relationship which obtained between early Christian mission societies and the onset of German colonialism to properly identify the formative and normative 'determinants' influencing the pedagogics and overall schooling for Namibian Africans.

Thus from the perspective briefly outlined above, the organizing themes of this 'formal' education process were evangelical in purpose, patronizing/racist in attitude and Christian/Eurocentric in content: spiritual enlightenment and elevation of the African to adequate levels of "civilization" was the self-proclaimed objective of the missionaries themselves, thereby clearly anticipating the racist sentiments expressed politically at the infamous Berlin Conference of 1884 which unilaterally rationalized the imperialists "scramble of Africa" as an ethical mission that has regrettably befallen the more advanced European civilizations.

Imbued with this evangelization zeal and agenda, various mission societies were at the forefront of colonialism literally shaping the formative character and structure of Namibia's African schooling as in the rest of the continent. Before discussing the structural implications of these issues in some detail, it will be appropriate to identify further aspects of the underlying doctrines which influenced the more enduring attitudes and assumptions of mission societies and colonial administrators towards the education and "educability" of the indigenous African peoples.

To be sure, the Africans were far from the level of cultural and spiritual depravity attributed to them by the various representatives and thinkers of Western Judeo-Christian civilizations. Theories and scientific 'proofs' were cited to support the savagery and pre-colonial barbarism of natives and to support the implied infallibility of Western Christian values legitimating domination and the process of capitalist accumulation. As Fanon points out however, despite the abundance of indigenous deities and mystifications, pre-colonial African social formations or cultures are in fact neither "more mystical nor less rational than the cultures of other people" [notwithstanding the] "unilaterally decreed normative values...and hierarchy of cultures" cultivated by imperial scholars, statesmen and missionaries of the day. Departing more or less from a similar perspective, Ndilula usefully illustrates the proper role and content of Namibian education prior to the arrival of the missionary societies and German colonialism proper.

> To transmit from one generation to the next, the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of the society, and prepare young people for their future membership of the society, and their active participation and maintenance and development. Since schooling in the old society was informal, it manifested this purpose through universities without walls, schools without classes and subjects without grades. In 'old Namibian societies' the purpose of education was clear: the guiding principle was functionalism. The people regarded education as a means to an end, not as an end in itself. It was generally for the immediate induction into society and was a preparation for adulthood. In particular, pre-colonial Namibian education emphasized social responsibility, job orientation, political participation in its maintenance and development (p. 384).

If the purpose and content of traditional education was predominantly functional, to employ Ndilula's terminology, it was also participatory and practical where children "learned by doing" the fundamental tasks of their economic/cultural existence alongside their elders. Much has been written on this theme of "universities without walls, schools without classes and subjects without grades" that used to distinguish African practical and oral educational traditions prior to the arrival of European missionaries. Their arrival, however, begins to systematically 'devalidate' these pre-colonial educational institutions and dismiss their rich oral cultures and accounts of human nature as less admissible forms of reference and knowledge. The historic arrival of missionaries literally deprived Africans of the long accumulated knowledge and wisdom of their elders as missions increasingly monopolized the 'educational' channels available for the advancement of Africans in colonial society and worldwide imperialist division of labour. The onset of overt colonialism moved "native education" in Namibia to a new phase which will be explored in the next section.

Chapter 3

The Colonial Situation and African Education

Pre-colonial European penetration involved sealers, whalers and guano collectors on the coast, and more importantly, traders and missionaries overland from the cape and inland from Walvis Bay. Sometimes inadvertently and sometimes willfully (as with arms sellers and cattle and slave buyers), they exacerbated intra-Namibian conflicts. Further they began the integration of some Namibian groups into the world economy in a way which sapped their self-sufficiency, increased internal authoritarian tendencies and weakened egalitarian and re-distributive mechanisms. They set the stage for Luderitz's German South West Africa Company to begin the conquest of Namibia.

M-L. Kiljunen

The Political Economy of Race

Some recent scholars on Africa prefer to emphasize the existence and viability of a "peasant mode of production", characterized by its own mode of subsistence production which still revolves around small scale land cultivation and utilization. They argue it is only within the last two centuries that Africa's agricultural producers have become effectively incorporated into a wider global economy, properly speaking. Such arguments further countenance that a substantial rural majority still continues to function within the confines of subsistence production characterized by its own "social logic" and what Hyden calls "rudimentary division of labour." Given the large proportion of African producers still involved in the pre-capitalist structures of such 'subsistence' production units and variations thereof, such analysts have theorized the existence of an overpowered "peasant mode in Africa" with a particular momentum of its own. It is necessary to briefly address this issue here for purposes of conceptual clarification and grasping the total context of social change presented in the colonized formations.

This line of reasoning is partly valid (to a degree) but otherwise stems from a manifest theoretical resistance to class analysis and hence obfuscation of its complex dynamics and metamorphosis in the modern African context of social change. According to this argument, which is rather reminiscent of past 'modernization theory' inspired

formulations, "In Africa, societies are products of both the capitalist and the peasant mode" (op.cit.) and it is necessary therefore, to study the unique position of the African peasantry in that context. The intellectual framework employed in this thesis is not insensitive to the underlying force of this argument, but considers all dichotomizing or dual economy-founded arguments conceptually less applicable to Namibia's peculiar historic relations of production and social formation within which the modern educational institutions of the nation have historically evolved.

This is not to suggest the absence of a social logic or *umwelt* which is inherently rural and tribal in character, but there is more to the global dissemination of the productive forces of the capitalist system and its inner workings. Here (as generally is the case in Southern Africa), the original social cohesion and kinship organizations within and between the original African inhabitants have been systematically uprooted and variously submerged "intimately and intrinsically ...to the predominant white economy" of the spreading "supremacist" state formation which is firmly allied to foreign (metropolitan) monopoly and oligopolistic capitalist interests. Traditional agricultural-subsistence modes as well as craftsmanship had been stunted and redirected to serve as the basis of the capitalist mode in Africa of the labour reserves. In this case, the persistence of a pristine peasant (subsistence) African mode complete with a "particular momentum of its own" may lead to oversimplification of the layered and multifaceted modes of exploitation, extraction and domination which converge upon and define the *African "mode of production"* which does not necessarily herald into a capitalist mode, division of labour and specialization within the indigenous system. From the theoretical standpoint, attempts have been advanced for attempting to define the "African mode of production" as an "apparently contradictory coexistence of the subsistence village and long-distance, even transcontinental trade" (Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1969 and 1972).[14]

---

[14]Much like what Marxists call the 'Asiatic mode of production' this theoretical construct became operational among political economists who analyzed African conditions within an appropriated Marxist theoretical framework.

Specifically, this pseudofeudo-militarist type of mode of production is assumed to have derived primarily from long-distance commerce and internal migrations conducted since the mediaeval period (Coquery-Vidrovitch:1972:77) among various kingships scattered throughout most of the African continent. The particularity of this mode was "that it was based upon the combination of a patriarchal agrarian economy with a low internal surplus and the exclusive ascendancy of one group over long-distance trade" (1972:106). It articulated a certain mode of domination and exploitation which should not be denied as a valid economic and scientific category subject to analysis in the context of its own internal 'antagonism, competition and conflict' albeit dominated in time and degrees by the imperatives of international trade and the process of global accumulation, specific to the region. This was eventually the direction taken by Namibia.

The point here being that the *specificity* in question cannot be accessed through the "dualist" paradigm suggested by the foregoing hypothesis articulated by Goran amongst others. International or long distance trade in various types was manifest in the overall determination of the African mode of production long before the colonial situation and its ubiquitous racial relations of production/power finally emerged as determinant in the political economy of the peripheries. Thus combined with the efforts of traders and missionaries, the particular 'momentum' of the peasant mode and the subsistence village as an autonomous site of production/consumption had been largely undermined.

Contradictions and inequalities between the white representatives trans-national capital and the degraded African labour force, are sufficiently advanced and racially delineated in Southern Africa that the term "Africa of the labour-reserves" has been suggested as a more useful theoretical construct to capture the underlying *political economy* of the region and the mechanisms governing the reproduction of the labour power. In examining the inner socioeconomic workings of the system and discerning the specific psychological traits of the "colonial situation" (Balandier/Memmi), it is ultimately Franz Fanon who is more relevant to this analysis rather than either G. Hyden or subsequent

orthodox Marxists efforts in this area. F. Fanon's point of departure, intellectually, is broadly Marxian, but it has been creatively applied to the living realities of the colonial situation in Algeria and Africa in general. In light of the modified African historical data of modernity, Fanon suggests that Marxist analysis "should always be stretched" particularly when analysis attempts to come to terms with the *originality* of the colonial problem in Africa and the concrete workings of the capitalist system in South Africa's plantations, farms, mines and other 'dominant' industries employing the African labour force. In his own words "the originality of the colonial context is that economic reality, inequality and the immense differences of ways of life never come to mask the colonial realities" (1960: 40) which consist essentially of racially exploitative relationships between the conquering colonizer and the colonized, through assorted forms of economic and extra-economic compulsions.

In this socioeconomic setting what first and foremost 'compartmentalizes' or in his words, parcels out the world, is "the fact of belonging or not belonging to a given race, a given species" as it were. Characteristically too, "in the colonies, the economic conditions are the conditions of a foreign bourgeoisie"(1960:178) which imposed its rule primarily by means of "guns and machines". As a result, Fanon argues "In the colonies the economic substructure is also the superstructure. The cause is the consequence, you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich. . .The governing race is first and foremost those who come from elsewhere, those who are unlike the original inhabitants, "the other" (1960:40). The importance of Fanon's analysis lies in his recognition of the centrality and uniqueness of race as a principle of colonial socio-economic and institutional organization in which education plays a crucial reproductive role.

In other words, the governing class or privileged governing race in any 'colonial situation' can be readily identified without abstract theoretical reference to ownership in the the means of production or other vital socio-economic categories or indices like income and status presumed or otherwise. Nor is it necessary to legitimize racial subordination/

domination through the "divine right of kings" or an internally complex democratic-liberal theory of equality which structures the legitimation principles of European formations. In the colonial situation, thus conceived, racial inequality is asserted primarily through the naked use of force/violence and conversion of certain members of the indigenous population. The various mechanisms of power/control and technological supremacy are routinely mobilized against the original inhabitants who are considered inferior species *ad majorem Dei gloriam.* [15] Violent domination/exploitation were reinforced by the ideological force of religiously sanctioned legitimation principles derived philosophically from Christianity and biological Darwinism, as presented in the previous chapter. As such the process of accumulation in the colonial peripheries becomes much more racially defined and ruthless, inflicting severe psychological injuries against the original inhabitants who are racially unlike the foreigners. Fanon likens the experience to a Jewish person being forced to wear the Star of David permanently. In Algeria itself, Fanon related the frightening level of 'systematic dehumanization' stemming from this condition of a 'subject race'.

Proletarianization and the systemic racial division and segmentation of labour is thus far more advanced in these parts of Africa. This industrial or semi-industrial tendency of the labour force is at least more pronounced than Tanzania and other Eastern Africa's cash crop or "agro-industrial" exporting peripheral social formations. Although remnants of the pre-capitalist 'subsistence' structures may have survived here and there, for the most part they have been effectively re-incorporated or '*subsumed*' within the international capitalist division of labour and mode of production. The indigenous mode of Namibia has thus been restructured, often genocidally, in order to meet the seasonal labour control/supply imperatives of the region's transnational mining interests and to a lesser extent commodity/cash crop production units. This process accounts for the *unprocessed*

---

[15]Latin for 'to the greater glory of God'.

export (at 90% of GDP)[16] and 100% of the nation's 'strategic materials', through which the colony reproduces itself.

To Marxist theorists, proletarianization involves the more or less complete separation of the laborer from the "means of production" and placing him/her at the mercy of wages however seasonal and meager they may turn out to be in the 'colonial situation'. In the latter case semi-proletarianization is the perspective of livelihood. Ultimately therefore, the term 'subsistence' may be a misnomer in Namibia's case given this particularly complex configuration of 'extraverted' structures and relations of production none of which are able to subsist autonomously or 'unconquered' for long, even less so at the most rudimentary level of peasant agricultural subsistence. The penetration of capital is ubiquitous and controls the flow and supply of labour power. This is the idea behind Kiljunen's prefaced allusion to the sapped 'self sufficiency' of internal social forces, kinship solidarities/links and mechanism of production in the wake of colonialism and capitalist intervention discussed above. It is in turn this immense deprivation, superexploitation and modification of the peasant societies which made capital accumulation and the industrial economies of the world possible.

In short, consideration on matters relating to the 'unique' experience of the 'colonial situation' along these lines are important to understanding and delineating the evolution of Namibia's modern educational institutions for Africans. Such are the objective structural processes and racist conditions under which African children come to experience the surrounding de-humanizing social world manifesting both within and outside the nascent educational institutions of the colony.

With respect to the persistence of 'Africa's' alleged 'subsistence' agriculture, the picture which emerges from the data on Namibia is that "the African population has been

---

[16]See "Namibia in the world economy" Allan Cooper 293, in Namibia 1884-1984, (Ed. Wood) Selected papers... As R. Green and K. Kiljunen have revealed the matter economically "The colonial economy of Namibia is built on selective natural resource exploitation for export. About 90% of domestic production of goods is for export-100% for minerals, 99% for fish, 100% for Karakul, 90% for cattle."

confined to holding grounds for dumping families and spare workers [which] has created a parody of pre-colonial herding and cultivation which is a *residual* not a subsistence sector" (C. Vaitsos, 1981: 218 emphasis added). Nor can the labour force be called mainstream proletarian or 'working class' as has materialized in the industrial West. At the same time, it can not be simply designated a 'rural peasantry' as in the pre-capitalist past or as possibly found in other African contexts. The African population in Africa of the 'labour reserves' is likened to a captive population incessantly policed in segregated 'reserves' where extreme racial oppression/segregation is conjoined with seasonal exploitation by transnational and indigenous white-owned capital closely protected by the colonial state. Hence the more appropriate designation "Africa of the labour reserves" adopted in this study.

Paralleling Vaitsos' and Marion O'Callaghan's position, Moleah also argues that to diagnose the Namibian social formation as a "dual economy" may be misleading at best. Indeed, "more correctly, the two economies should be seen as organically and functionally interrelated: as really two sides of the same coin," as he puts it. In the case of Namibia's demonstrably *residual* traditional sectors "it is the maintenance of a semi-subsistence sector that permits the reproduction of the present system of labour relationship..."(1981: 5). This analytical position is consistent with this inquiry's cognizance of modified indigenous pre-capitalist modes of production and social organizations which have historically evolved as repositories of cheap and migrant labour power organized for profitable transnational investments and corporations.

Politically-legislatively consolidated into truncated *Bantustans* or *Homelands* , their *residual* and distorted existence as such ultimately provides international capital with the most profitable source of surplus value, globally speaking (Saul:1972). As historical products of distinct modes of capitalist pillage (Jalee:1972) overseas, the indigenous "residues" of the ancient modes cannot be treated as autonomous socioeconomic

constructions nor deciphered as nostalgic "anthropological/cultural" products and expressions whose era has passed through the sheer passage of time, as it were.

Theoretically speaking therefore, the perpetuation of these *residual* structures as "objects of capitalist exploitation and degradation" constitutes "the very basis of its existence and viability" as a dominant global economic and social order to recall P. Baran's early formulation of the problematic of underdevelopment (1957:17). [17] Their existence as such does not precede the territories incorporation into the global expansion of capitalism even in part but has materialized or has been molded in the course of their incorporation or integration into the world economy.

Thus the central argument in this chapter is that modern formal or Western education in Namibia arose out of the colonial exigencies of extracting maximum labour-power and resources necessary for the valorization of international capitalism and the process of German industrialization at a certain phase. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the need arose for imposing total colonial administrative and cultural/political domination over all the resources/territories and peoples of South Western Africa to more efficiently realize the long-term project of Germany's accumulation process and belated drive for world domination by Prussian Junkers. As Marx stated succinctly, the systematic extraction of the "greatest possible amount of surplus value" constitutes "the directing motive, the end aim of capitalist production" whether nationally or globally conceived. Only on the basis of such a historical and trans-national theoretical conceptualization of the global accumulation process can we proceed to objectively discuss the gradual imposition of colonialism and European hegemony i.e., the systematic dissemination of European thought and cultural practices among the indigenous people of contemporary Namibia more concretely.

---

[17] The Political Economy of Growth. P. Baran. Monthly Review Inc. "As the Prussian Junkers interest in high tariffs on grains was announced to be dictated by their deep concern with the preservation of German food supplies under conditions of war, so the anxiety of dominant Western corporations to safeguard their investments abroad and to remain assured of the accustomed flow of raw materials." p. 13.

In this theoretical context, the educational system is best viewed through the prism of long-term imperialist politics, upon which the various state apparatuses i.e., bureaucratic/administrative, military/police institutions and education systems of contemporary Namibia have evolved. The central proposition that transnational capitalism is still the dominant mode of production and main instrument of surplus-value generation/accumulation is as important an aspect of this analytical tradition as the proposition that the 'super-exploitation' of a quarantined African labour-power constitutes the ultimate source of profits and surplus value. In tandem these mechanisms of accumulation and legitimation sustain the complex interrelationship of different *modes* and social relations of production crystalized in the historic contradictions and struggles that define Namibia's social development even in the contemporary period.

As Marxists have persuasively argued, it is not merely the gross differences in wages, nor *unequal exchange* (Emmanuels' emphasis)[18] alone nor the racially brutalizing and super-exploitation of black workers' that ultimately maintains *underdevelopment* in sub-Saharan Africa. It is rather the enforced persistence of various 'fossilized 'and pre-capitalist and even *lineage* or *archaic* modes of production/exploitation i.e., the subsistence village economy, the 'labour reserve economies', the so- called labour-contract system, Police Zone Reserves and 'Bantustans' scattered throughout southern and (previously) central African colonies, that more aptly explain the phenomenon of state administered backwardness or what Woodis refers to as "disguised forms of forced labour" which mission education and missionaries rationalized and helped expand since the arrival of the Rhenish Mission Society (RMS) in 1842.

In other words, the trail of stagnation and a concrete source of exploitation begins in the *residual* modes and their illiterate or semi-skilled migrant population pools

---

[18]Arghiri Emmanuel in his book Unequal Exchange defines the concept as "the proportion between equilibrium prices that is established through the equalization of profits between regions in which the rate of surplus value is 'institutionally' different" (1972:64). Emmanuel argues that 'all things being equal' "inequality of wages as such. . . is alone the cause of inequality of exchange" p 61.

maintained by 'conscious policy measures' unilaterally legislated/enforced by subsequent colonial administrations. This process is responsible for the "various forms of labour recruitment" camps dotting the entire region of Southern Africa. Since capitalism must necessarily produce newer opportunities for the reproduction of surplus value Marxists suggests that the degree of exploitation of labour power finds boundless latitude in the brutalizing 'colonies' with abundant "reserve army" of laborers to select from. Upon closer look, these are the structural realities most relevant to understanding the political economy of the region during the colonial period.

Modern education in Namibia, thus considered, is linked intimately with these capitalist forces and social relations of production and new ideas unleashed during the advent of European industrialism and its global expansion creating world patterns of trade/commerce and progressive imposition of military-administrative and racist cultural/class domination of the indigenous peoples of Sub-Saharan Africa. Reviewing the literature on imperialism and its possible socio-educational implications for Africa, one is reminded of Carnoy's timely methodological advice to all would-be analysts of education in the so-called Third World. In his early work Education as Cultural Imperialism, Carnoy suggested the necessary framework for initiating such an analysis as follows:

> Schools in the imperial context are one of many institutions that produced the conditions of dependency and the psychological relations of colonialism...Analyzing the spread of Western schooling through imperialistic relations with an imperialistic theory of "development" therefore makes more sense than using a model derived from Western capitalist notions of improving social welfare(1974:33)

Along with the proviso that "education can be used to maintain imperial relations between nations or to break them"(p. 33) this methodological imperative is still relevant to understanding the development of the various class structures, educational anomalies, struggles and resistances that have evolved throughout sub-Saharan Africa historically and today. The process of this 'spread' which Carnoy alludes to, however, is neither unilateral nor unidirectional but involves what the literature refers to as a dynamic or complex

interplay of "both exogenous and endogenous factors" which need to be identified explicitly in the case of Namibia. For now, formalized education or schooling for Namibians has been accommodated within the imperial context and exhibits the inferior colonial status brought upon the indigenous people by colonization. From the perspective of education the colonizer "establishes the colonized as being lazy" and according to Memmi he decides that "laziness is instituted in the very nature of the colonized" (1965:81) legitimizing once again a philosophy grounded on the 'natural' and intrinsic racial superiority and industriousness of the colonizing races who hail from temperate climates and so on. The African was expected to internalize the images the colonizer constructs of the colonized.

In Namibia, huge North-American, British, German and South-African controlled giant mining concessions are still the most dominant/internationalized sources of revenue and employment opportunities. They operate along 'classical' colonial lines with few modifications (from the point of view of Africans) to date. In other words, a large proportion of African producers here is unskilled and involved in the lower stratum of various (uranium/copper/pyrites) mining industries and concessions generously granted to foreign transnationals by subsequent German and South African-controlled colonial administrations in Windhoek. Boasting the largest open-pit mine in the world (Rossig) in Swakopmund, Western transnationals and apartheid South Africa's economic concerns understandably wield preponderant influence in Namibia's exploitative social formation. This influence will come into play in the subsequent negotiations to influence the policies of SWAPO toward "moderation" *vis a vis* their interests and stake in the process of decolonization.

On the analytical plane therefore, wherever such *residual* peasant modes prevail in Namibia their "social and political actions" and meanings are not likely to mystify and confound the substantive challenges illuminated by contemporary Marxist political

economy, critical social-psychological theorizing (Fanon/Memmi:1960), class analysis (Cabral:1969) or the 'lineage' analytics of radical anthropology.[19]

At first glance, it might appear that Marxism does not offer explanatory principles adequate enough to account for the specifically Namibian realities. It has been argued here that the materialist analytical tools of Marxist political economy and the analytics of "reproduction" and accumulation as elaborated by Amin and others (Carnoy/Samoff:1991) provide the appropriate analytical inroads for rigorously exploring some of the critical issues involved in Namibia's history of modern educational development and post-apartheid educational reform. In the colonies, as Fanon had firmly stressed, the process of production relation was racially modified or articulated and that natives suffer the socio-psychological effects of their multifaceted oppression as victims of imperialist colonialism and the syndrome of systematic racism, which only temporarily blurs emerging class distinctions in Africa.

---

[19]The central methodological premise of this argument is that "The peasant mode gives rise to forms of social and political action which are not easily handled within the conventional framework of Marxist analysis" according to Goran Hyden. The term"conventional" is problematic, i.e., it depends on the person defining it.

Chapter 4

From Southwest Africa to Namibia

The German Colonial State Formation

Having proposed a critical perspective on the dynamics of social change in the introduction of the thesis this section will apply the major theoretical/historical suppositions that flow from the foregoing analysis to the capitalist mode's expansion and reproduction in South West Africa, with which the formalized education of Africans is organically tied. I will continue to assume the ongoing internationalization of the capitalist mode through the colonial and post-colonial period.

Briefly then, the objective of the following section is to initiate a more systematic and localized analysis of Namibia's socioeconomic/state formation in order to establish the specific context necessary for understanding the origins of Namibia's modern educational system and key 'moments' in the ongoing socio-economic processes which are certain to bear on on the whole *reform process* currently in progress.

It is ultimately the socio-economic specificity of the Namibian 'colonial situation', classically established by conquest that has given the country's modern education system its most enduring qualities and structural characteristics - issues which are likely to challenge current policy efforts "to move definitively away from the Bantu system of education...and the use of the language of apartheid--Africaans--as the language of instruction" (1993: 2). Both have been outlawed officially, as a prelude to a democratic reconfiguration of the country's education process for the post-apartheid period.

From the start, it was education or rather preaching and conversion for "social control" and racial submission *par excellence,* which the early missionaries and colonial authorities sought to enforce among native Namibians. The multitudes of missionary schools were for the large part training grounds for colonial *exploitation and oppression* since they preached and enforced its ruling mythology of the great natural racial divide

between humanity and between those civilized and uncivilized, albeit in obedience to the call from God. For a large part, missionaries mystified or ignored the concrete realities of the Namibian people during this early period of cruel "racial degradation, appalling exploitation, terrorism of the state" which as Hunke rightly puts it were deliberately surrendered to the "extra-eccelessiastical realm" by Church authorities. In this way missionaries were able to 'dissociate' themselves from the terroristic colonial state while pedagogically conditioning adjustment/submission to its racial injustices and economic imperatives. Their guardianship over African education was an important dimension of the whole colonisation process and the colonising experience itself which "[served] to create around the exploited person an atmosphere of submission and of inhibition which lighten[ed] the task of policing considerably" (Fanon:1960:38). Increasingly too, the systems of education for Africans initiated by missionaries were brought under the powers of the colonial State thereby gradually falling under the constant watch of the "Native Commissioner". The shift of this principal institution from clerical to secular authorities heralds the progressive encroachment of the colonial state on the education of its native 'subjects'.

Throughout much of the early German period, Education of the natives was continued along the lines already established by missionaries i.e., with emphasis on moral and religious education and submissive training for domestic services and unskilled participation in the emergent capitalist economy of extraction. For the most part, reading and writing were not to be encouraged as much as were praying and submission to the words of the holy scriptures as translated by the missionaries. Conflict with those Church authorities who considered literacy a precondition for Baptism (Finnish Mission) was inevitable on this policy. Along the more established church groups however, indoctrination into the superior Christian morality and rigorous submission to God's Church under the supervision of missionaries and the ten commandments was seen as sufficiently literate for Africans. This tradition continued well into the German colonial

period. In sum, literacy in all forms was thus suspect since it could cause unexpected difficulties for foreigners and unwarranted expectations from natives. From the linguistic point of view missionary teaching was initially conducted in German, Finnish or Africaans or English depending on the national origin of the Missions and the teachers. It was later, under Bantu education legislation that the medium of instruction for 'natives' in the homelands reverted back to insular indigenous languages, an issue which a different section of this thesis discusses.

At the turn of the century, a state-sponsored preferential education system was taking root. In contrast, schooling for Whites was made compulsory by 1906, a period which clearly demarcates the entrenchment of two distinctly separate systems and authorities of education founded under the German colonizing state. For the first time, well-maintained state schools were provided by the colonists for German children who soon grew to become the dominant European 'ethnic' group in the territories. Still under the authority/curriculum and discipline of the missions by 1912 there were reportedly some 5,500 Namibians in these schools of servitude. By the end of the colonial period, i.e., 1990, systematic racial 'ethnic' separation/segregation of the Namibian population had resulted in eleven separate school administrations governed by strict apartheid laws and regulations. This pattern provides the backdrop for the emergent colonial state formation which began to organize a more efficient provision of native labour power for the influx of settler farms, mines and plantations.

The Formalization of African Education

Prior to the recorded arrival/penetration of Europeans in the region, both simple and relatively complex Namibian communities and societies had thrived as in the rest of Southern Africa. There is sufficient historical evidence to suggest that certain indigenous societies, however, tribally based and technologically 'backward', had indeed managed to construct highly centralized 'tributary' social and political structures of various levels of

differentiation (division of labour, specialization) and cultural sophistication prior to the colonial phenomenon discussed above.

According to Katjavivi "Social stratification also intensified in the Ovambo communities in the nineteenth century, and one account describes a feudal class structure already emerging by the middle of the century. The ruling group exacted tribute from occupiers of land and a form of slavery developed" (1980: 4). By no means static nor exactly egalitarian and idyllic, the extraction of tribute, 'feudalistic' wars and the pattern of conflict/alliances and rudimentary exchange relations between and within the cattle-raising and farming pre-capitalist Namibian communities had emerged long before the northward trek of the Cape-based Boer colonists and German merchant-entrepreneurs discovered the interior of modern-day Namibia. International boundaries however are a relatively recent phenomenon in this region. Indigenous state formations, however rudimentary by European standards, were clearly taking root in pre-colonial 'South-West Africa' prior to the arrival of European merchants colonists and the consolidation of the 'labour reserve economies'.

As was fitting for the period, expansionist European merchant capitalists, adventurers/missionaries and settlers set out to consolidate their claims and annexations over larger and larger sections of what had previously been referred to as the Trans-Gariep communities of Damaraland, Ovamboland, Namaqualand and so on, apparently in honor of the diverse indigenous African inhabitants already settled there. Indeed the contemporary name 'Namibia' is attributed to a Swedish explorer, one Charles John Andersson who allegedly "coined the name" around 1856 (1985: 5). The whole process of colonization is bound up with bitter inter-imperialist economic rivalry on a worldwide scale (Lenin/ Hobson) which had finally necessitated the all-out race for consolidating colonial possessions in Africa. Although there existed regional variations, the process generally proceeds by war and the forcible expropriation of Africans from their ancestral lands.

One writer who has closely studied the history of Namibia in this imperialist context has suggested a dynamic entry point for initiating a historic and structural perspective on the problems under investigation . In his view, Namibian history "is the history of the social interrelationship between and within the Khoi-Khoi and San, then between and within the San-Khoi-Khoi and Damaras, and between and within the above and the Bantu peoples. Finally, it has become the history of social interaction between and within all Africans on the one hand, and the European invaders on the other" (Angula:1980:102). It is the successive struggles won and lost within this general framework, which at once determined possession over resources and power/authority central to the colonizing process and for subjecting the dynamics of social change and 'history-making' itself to the larger framework of capital accumulation. With this encroaching dominance of the European invaders over 'all Africans' the decisive epoch of colonialism, properly speaking, begins.

The history of Namibia's colonization starts during the course of what is known as the 'scramble for Africa' initiated by the crisis of accumulation in Europe. In relation to the crisis caused by German industrialization in the 'home market' Bismarck is said to have revealingly argued that, "If the German people as a whole finds that its clothes are too tight-fitting at home...we are forced to grant protection to German initiatives" abroad (Wehler: 1980:82) i.e., in the Southern African complex. With these motives, Germany soon 'bought' A. Luderitz's treaties and set out to legitimize its particular brand of *Weltpolitik* and colonial expansionism in Southern Africa.

As in every conflict situation of the early period, missionaries were not only effective allies to the German conqueror's but were in Hunke's terms among "the first to profit by the military pacification, the social uprootedness of the natives" and their overall slave-like dehumanization encountered under colonialism (1980: 628). Among the "farming missionaries" the African laborers became promptly infantalized into "my boy" or even "my kaffir" recounts a Catholic priest (Hunke) an outstanding critic of the church hierarchy and its educative role in Namibia. This reference of the missionaries to their

'educated' Africans is not without pedagogical implications as this 'filial' deportment was properly instilled in all young Namibians attending mission schools.

In the social interrelationship between the indigenous populations, traditional modes of education, predating Europeans, were generally part of everyday survival skills and sociability. Education and the transmission of necessary skills in pre-colonial Namibia was the implicit responsibility of every initiated adult in the community and "not the responsibility of a specialist labour force called teachers" (1985:13) or particular institutions called 'schools'. Missionaries are the specific stratum of 'teachers' who initiated formalized African education prior to and in the course of colonialism. Their imported Christian pedagogy and infantalizing perspective became the basis of African education even after the colonial state had tightened financial and administrative control over 'Native Education' and affairs.

The traditional education passed on orally and practically to the younger generation of Namibians first and foremost reflected their own environmental conditions, pre-capitalist socioeconomic circumstances and indigenous cosmologies acquired painstakingly over centuries of encounter with the world. Increasingly pressured by warlike expansions and aggressive land expropriations forays originating from the Cape and industrializing Europe, the self-reproductive mechanisms and trading arrangements developed by the pre-capitalist peasant modes began to be violently undermined, thereby progressively dismantling the skills and *Umwelt* or 'surrounding world' of Africans by the mid-nineteenth century. In 1876 Britain officially claimed (annexed) the area around Walvis Bay, the principal deep water port of entry into the territory thereby raising the geo-political stakes of Namibia in the eyes of the rival capitalist powers. Bismarck responded to the expansive moves of the British in kind by deliberately fostering German anglophobia to accomplish his imperialist objectives overseas. An intense competition to consolidate colonial possession over all Namibia ensued among the great powers of the day, setting in motion the demand for

massive labour power, the dynamics of the migrant labour system and African pauperization on an unprecedented scale.

With the Church teachers' explicit consensus, trade, efficient modern arms and technology the internal dynamics of these aboriginal or pre-existing African societies were experiencing massive distortions of 'genocidal' proportions. Vicious wars of extermination (against the Herero and Nama) served the process of accumulation by radically reducing "the local supply of labour, while increasing the acreage given over to white farmers" (Clarence-Smith and Moorsom:1980:175) initiating the process of land expropriation, agricultural crisis and forced labour regime institutionalised by the colonial state in the beginning of the 20th century. Under a relentlessly advancing and predatory/extractive capitalist mode, small scale trading soon gave way to commercial undertakings and ever 'bigger' speculations with industrial capital finally penetrating the territory and setting the stage for the commercial successes of such huge trans-national business undertakings as A. Luderitz's German South West Africa Company. Clarence-Smith and Moorsom for instance relate how Luderitz's diamond fields "created overnight an acute shortfall in the labour supply" accelerating the segmentation of "the sources of labour supply" (Ibid.: 183) and setting in motion the technical basis for the "fixed-term contracts" or seasonal-work as far north as the Ovambo territories hitherto inaccessible to capital and uncontrolled by the colonial state well into the twentieth century. The logic of a colonial system whose prime economic objective was to ensure the abundant supply of cheap and unskilled labour power without minimum wages legislations and effective modern industrial safeguards was falling into place.

The German state's harsh conquest of all Namibia was executed by gradual annexations, treaties and incessant wars pursued with the determination of an archetypal *jihad* . Katavivi sheds light on the relations between Luderitz, an indigenous African chief and the German connections which led directly to colonial annexation: "In 1983-4 the German Luderitz came to an agreement, after lengthy negotiations with Chief Frederick of

Bethanie, which gave him the rights over the area around Angra pequena. The settlement was soon renamed Luderitz. This opened up the country's interior to German economic and political interests and the formal establishment of German colonial rule in the country" in 1884 (1985: 7).[20]

The establishment of German colonial conquest in Namibia inaugurated the entrenchment of the capitalist mode in that region and the fragmentation/subjugation of Africans to qualitatively new modes of exploitation and alienation. It is within these parameters where 'native' or African education for the Namibian population comes into focus. The official German attitude toward African education was "to confine this teaching to the Bible and some German, rather than reading and writing" (1985:11). Gradually however, this curriculum control or domestication by God's command and through missionary intermediaries gave way to more direct state intervention by way of minimum subsidies to schools and strategies of expansion, consistent with the colonial economy and the exploiting rights of international capital .

In other words, this is a history and social relations that stresses the violence, oppression and pillage characteristic of nascent capitalist expropriation of aboriginal peoples described vividly by Marx, Hobsen, Luxemburg, Lenin, Jalee, Cabral, Laclau, Fanon and a host of contemporary Marxists. From this vantage-point, the dominant infrastructural tendencies at work in Namibia appear to confirm Rosa Luxemburg's hypothesis that imperialist expansion rescues the capitalist mode of production from the contradictions involved in realizing "surplus-value" within the national home market, and that "accumulation of capital, as an historical process, depends in every respect upon non-capitalist social strata and forms of social organization" (1951:336). Moreover, it operates through annihilation or subjugation of pre-existing formations and redirects their channels of production to serve the interest of extracting the greatest amount of surplus-value for the 'European invaders' and merchants. This is certainly applicable to the German imperialist

---

[20]J. Ellis states that Luderitz actually got his concession for the "grand total of 600 pounds and 260 rifles!"

logic and enterprise in Namibia which initiated the severe deformation of the Namibian economy which has been subsequently inherited by SWAPO. By all accounts, Nama and Herero land and cattle expropriations along with indiscriminate slaughter of resisting civilian Africans initiated the process of German colonization and its racialist ("racialist" or "racists") state ideology of "Herrenshaft". Consequently, systematic "elaborate and comprehensive measures were undertaken to force Africans into employment for whites" (Moleah, 1983: 52) exclusively, and make them conform to the ideology of racism and legalized submission to forced labour in industrial mines and plantations .

Conquest was the predominant feature of the historiographic dynamics that set the pattern whereby the invaders' initial economic interests eventually extend into a bureaucratically systematized, racist-colonial exploitation of the Africans, on behalf of western capital both merchant and industrial types. For the first time, the racial-biological traits of the native populations also became important indices for the management of capital in the subjugated territories. One of the enduring consequences of this colonial racism has been the 'seemingly' permanent division/segregation of Namibia's peoples between racial groups with supposedly 'different' visions/interests of identity, culture, schools and historical destiny. These divisions into non-competing races, manufactured by colonial conquest and 'legislation' will certainly pose dilemmas/obstacles to the educational reform process presently underway. The racial distribution of income is unlikely to fade in the near future as are the segregated residential areas for the different races. Hardly any statistical data/census on Namibia's education history exists where populations are not minutely fragmented into racial/tribal units with police-like obsession and exactitude. Sharp divisions/segregation among the population along racial/ethnic patterns and established racial inequalities began to materialize with the advent of German colonialism, though it found its most ellaborated expression after the British-South African occupation of the territories during the explosions of World War 1.

Contemporary Namibia, formerly known as German South West Africa, is thus the multilateral creation of colonizing powers *par excellence*, i.e., the German and South African settler varieties in particular. That is to say, early German imperialism and the latter's occupation and extended pattern of *apartheid exploitation and occupation* broadly speaking, have been the most fundamental 'developmental' variables behind Namibia's present structural and historical configurations. What ultimately emerged as Namibia is what "a skeletal model of what dependent capitalist exploitation really means with all mystification peeled away or a travesty of capitalist development fossilized at the 'primitive accumulation' stage" (Green, 1981:1).

Particularly relevant in this respect is the history of social interaction "between and within" all Africans on the one hand, and the European invaders on the other. The effects of European mercantile explorations and imperialistic intercontinental expansions albeit intermittently so in the initial stages, came early to the shores of South West Africa in the form of 16th century Portuguese explorers and slave merchants who worked from the coastal region of Angola-Namibia. German colonialism, properly speaking, was established only in 1884 finally concretizing Bismarck's share in the raging inter-imperialist 'scramble for Africa', which more or less established the existing fragmented boundaries/ resources/loyalties bedeviling the continent as was argued above. At another level, the arrogant and patronizingly universalist ideas/doctrines rationalizing this colonial onslaught and "partition and repartition" of the African continent by representatives of the dominant European powers is best epitomized in the "Iron Chancellor's" classic statement of purpose at the Berlin Conference gathering of 1884-85:

> All the governments share the wish to bring the nations of Africa within the pale of civilization by opening up the interior of the continent to commerce, by furnishing the natives with the means of instruction (Moleah:1983:3).

This was, in brief, the official rationale or logic for the concerted colonial onslaught on which primitive accumulation was based. There was, in other words, a whole new historical agenda being elaborated on behalf of Africans in European capitals which was rather more revealing of the occupier's approach to other peoples' cultures and historical destiny. There is once again a remarkable harmony of interests between the church's pedagogy and the influential political philosophy of the day.

C. Ake and others have argued that since "colonialism is an objective relation which is the same everywhere... all colonizers used essentially the same ideology." Consequently, they all developed similar *civilizing* justifications derived from the same premises, i.e., "that colonialism was beneficial to the colonized in the fundamental sense of improving the quality of their lives." With uncanny ingenuity, as Ake puts it, the colonialists reconciled their agenda of rapacity and racist exploitation with high sounding proclamations concerning the equality/dignity of all men. In short "Colonialism became not self-seeking, not exploitation but salvation" (Ake, 1976:199). Objectively, however, the theological rationalizations and routine Christian pieties about instilling morality and civilization articulated by the early missionaries and statesmen did little to mask the profoundly economic, racist and profit motives sustaining the whole colonization enterprise initiated by British, South African and German mercantile/ mining/ plantation interests in Namibia. At best such pronouncement provide ideological justification for political economic policies already in process.

Despite valiant resistance mounted by indigenous forces, the socioeconomic and cultural infrastructure of the African formations was thus becoming progressively undermined by the closing decades of the 19th century, signalling the violent entrenchment of German colonialism in Namibia.[21] The pattern of domination imposed by the German colonialists first involves the "forcible restructuring of property and social relations"

---

[21]In his essay "The Namibian war of anti-colonial resistance, 1904-7" N. Alexander writes that after 1894 even the legendary Hendrick Witbooi had realized "that the Germans could no longer be challenged militarily"(199).

thereby radically changing the political economy of Namibia through the process of "legalized dispossession and proletarianization, the creation of a labour-coercive system through the introduction of pass laws, curfew, compounds, reserves and all the rest of the accompanying evils of that system" of which N. Alexander wrote in his 'Three Essays on Namibian history' (1983:193).

In essence, the Africans were routinely and systematically dispossessed of their property and means of production and haunted by death and starvation. On the wretched ruins left by military conquests and 'pacification campaigns', whose brutalities remain well-documented, major areas of white settlements and labour 'reserves' were established during this period of early German colonization. As the Commissioner for Settlement in South West Africa between 1903-1906, P. Rohbrach commented on the latter point: "...as far as possible (the Herero) should be stripped of his national identity and his national characteristics and gradually amalgamated with the other natives into a single coloured working class" (1983:17). The subsequent processes/mechanisms employed to expropriate and geographically confine the indigenous labour force were all too familiar and continue to lie at the root of Namibia's social formation and education system today.

That is to say, both missionary and apartheid education were intimately linked to the labour-intensive industrial production process to which international capital and the South African controlled colonial state had subjected the Namibian labour force for generations. Duncan Innes puts this historic process of expropriation and 'geographic' confinement of the entire black population into a useful political-economic perspective.

> By crushing the armed resistance of the people in the south the colonial state had secured an area in which capitalist relations of production could expand. This was the area which came to be known as the Police Zone. Yet the overall labour requirements of capital could not be met in full by the remnants of the local communities within the Police Zone, since their numbers had been sharply and drastically reduced in the extermination campaigns during the war of 1904-1907 (Innes: 1979: 46).

This pattern of crushing local communities and resettlement was repeated again and again during the infamous Herero and Nama wars which inaugurated German colonial rule in Namibia. The totalitarian and racist abuses of Africans by the Germans who in time monopolized colonial state power were truly extreme and subsequently mirrored in the deprivations that beset African learners in the education sphere. Helmut Bley goes so far as to argue that Namibia may have provided the roots of German inhumanity later unleashed against the Jews in Europe (Namibia Under German Rule:1992). Whatever the merit of his central arguments, the parallel of systematic genocide against a people remains instructive of the 'primitive' process in question.

Without adequately addressing the geopolitical and economic roots of colonial domination and the racist 'labour coercive system' under construction, the possibilities for understanding the historical origins of formal education or "the means of instruction" offered to *blacks* or Africans in Namibia is bound to be severely limited. As Foucault's analysis of domination was to stress, once the racial-biological traits of a population become "relevant factors for economic management...it becomes necessary to organize around them an apparatus which will ensure not only their subjection but the constant increase of their utility" (1972: 279). That apparatus is none other than the colonial state which organized and systematically expanded the contract labour system to forcibly induce the 'proletarization' of all able-bodied Africans and increase their 'utility' to white farms, mines and industrial concerns. To get a measure of this utilitarian 'management' of people, by 1911 "most of the good land in the centre and south of the country that had previously been in African hands was white-owned" (1985:11). The thinly disguised 'means of instruction' first entrusted to European missionaries, were none other than the rudimentary African school systems and 'bush' or 'mission schools' premised on moulding good, obedient laborers and God-fearing 'black subjects' suitable for exploiting this resourceful and mineral rich region of the continent in the interest of "God and man". Although they allegedly curbed "some of the more blatant excesses of individual behaviour by the

colonialists", (the missionaries for the most part worked under the instruction of the colonial authorities and espoused civilizing sanctimonies identical with the encroaching colonial state. According to Hunke, a Catholic priest later deported from Namibia, they delivered the "means of instruction" for their reproduction, by participating in the contract labour system and by instructing adaptation to the systemic "institutional framework of racism" at least up to the 1960's when certain churches spoke out against the *apartheid* regime. Active participants in land expropriations churches became "part and parcel of the colonial and racial master servant society" with a special responsibility for "educating" this conformity with a Gospel-laden curriculum which resigns African's to the colonial *status quo*.

As recollected by historians who know the country best, there was mass violence against the indigenous structures and populations to accomplish the Darwinian-imperialist vision of *civilization* propagated at the political level by Bismarck and the other distinguished leaders of imperialist Europe. Ingratiated with this core logic of capitalist exploitation/domination which legitimated 'functional racism', German colonialism greatly escalated its brutal extermination/decimation campaigns against all resisting African nations and communities located in South West Africa. The systematic extermination of the original inhabitants of the territory culminated into a frenzy of destruction that, amongst other atrocities, reduced the Herero to refugees by the time the Germans consolidated the colony. This was only the beginning from the point of view of the scope of destructiveness perpetrated by Namibia's colonial history. Excessive violence was used to extract economic surplus, violence was employed to insure a steady supply of labour-power and organized state violence and police-legislative repression also emerged as key instruments in the realization of colonial profits in this region of the continent. For these reasons, most historians prefer to use the term *genocide* when depicting this period of Namibia's incorporation and subordination into the economic and power structures of trans-national capitalist exploitation and surplus valorization.

Under the Imperial Commissioner Dr. Goring, father of the infamous Nazi war criminal Hermann Goring, the systematic destruction of of the pre-capitalist economy and structural integrity of the African social formations assumed, by most accounts, genocidal proportions. In a series of phenomenally brutal massacres well documented by political historians, the structures of German autocratic colonial rule or, in short, *Herretum* was consolidated over widening parts of the coveted territory. That only brute and ruthless force with superior German arms, and *sjambock* (whip) against the subjugated Africans would administer the exploitative system of colonial 'slavery' was explicit in General Schlieffens' frank defence of General Von Trotha's (former suppressor of the Wahehe revolt in German Tanganyka) notorious extermination orders against the Herero nations. Indeed, his soldiers were compensated with blood-money expropriated from the hunted Africans, women and children included. In his view:

> One may agree with Von Trotha's that the whole nation must be destroyed or driven out of the country. After what has happened the co-existence of whites and blacks will be very difficult, unless blacks are kept in a state of forced labour, indeed, in a kind of slavery. Racial war once it has broken out, can only be ended by the destruction of one of the parties (Ibid.:15. emphasis added).

These sadistic campaigns of racial extermination/decimation/deportation and starvation progressively intensified until the "entire movable and fixed property of the tribe" was declared 'expropriated' by the German Emperor and the Colonial Department. It must not be lost sight that the main object of these pacification campaigns, was to finally elaborate a racist colonial policy and administration that institutionalizes the transformation of the Africans into a conquered reservoir/source of cheap labour without alternative means of subsistence and shelter.

Conservation and reproduction of the exploitable labour-force in the cheapest manner possible from the perspective of the economic structures of the metropolitan economy, is therefore the basis of the whole colonial transformation process. The few survivors of these vicious campaigns of expropriation were terrorized into the most

remotest and inhospitable corners of the Namib dessert or into the inhospitable *sandveld* where survival is precarious at best. Some were forced to flee into what became Botswana. In other words, not wanton malice/racism or sheer greed/rapacity alone but rational and identifiable economic interests and shifting patterns of inter-imperialist competition and global accumulation dictated the overall strategies of the occupation army and the creation of the apparatuses of the colonial state. In the final analysis, as another author emphasizes, the object was to force the majority of Africans to search for employment/subsistence as migrant labourers in the white-owned industries and farms, at what amount to "starvation wages" by any measure. The untold privileges and exploitative license/profits of the white settler colonialists has since been sustained through the systematic expansion and refinement of this cruel 'expropriation' process.

This forced brutalization or 'commodification' process of African labour power is best captured by the phrase "proletarization through pauperization" whose fundamental manifestation in Namibia is recognized in what is known as the "Rohrbach's postulation" which stipulates that "African existence can only be justified by working for Whites" (Ibid.:18), and in a degraded state supportive of colonial forced labour and various conditions of wage slavery and 'contract' inscribed into the Reserve system and the entire labour process governing the 'natives' and their families. Consequently all Africans over the age of seven were to carry 'passes' and 'service books' demonstrable upon demand by any white man. A century later Namibia' political economy and education apparatus still shows the momentous violence and distortions German colonialism and South African *apartheid* sowed deep into the socio-economic and psychological recesses of the nation.

Formal education in Namibia as already noted, had its origins as an "adjunct to missionary endeavours" hitherto focussed on conversion, religious indoctrination with, at best, a promise for a domestic or semi-skilled employment in the advancing capitalist economy. Aimed ultimately at 'character development', the missionary designed schools for Africans began to be subsidized by the German colonial authorities from 1909 onwards

indicating an increasing alliance between church and colonial state in the management of 'Native' education. In August 18, 1907, an Ordinance was promulgated which forbade Africans to acquire land or any interest therein, and to own riding animals or any large stock that may promote subsistence outside the colonial economy. A collaborative vision between church and state for educating Africans was beginning to institutionally take shape at this point. But the overall collaboration in the whole colonial enterprise dates further back.

Armed with the 1896 Criminal Jurisdiction and Powers of Discipline over Natives in South West Africa" which granted 'unlimited' power to white *Suidwester* masters over their *Native* black servants a veritable master-slave dialectic of brutal consequences was gradually implanted by the German colonizers. Quite literally the African was ruthlessly transformed into a desperate "labour unit" within this racist and exploitative colonial machinery of subjugation and surplus extraction. In Moleah's well documented historical account after the wars of pacification, measures were devised to systematically implement this policy. Crucial to this transformation process were measures designed to control Africans residential zones so as to relegate them to their proper place within the long-term colonial order.

In the same vein, all Africans were required to carry passes and if found "wandering" without visible means of subsistence i.e., not working for a white person, "were punishable as vagrants...given the brutal nature of colonial racism, pauperization assumed the character of helotry" (Ibid.:15). The process was accompanied with unprecedented savagery and violence causing mass starvation, torture, extermination and brutal atrocities against the indigenous populations. In 1911 the "Police Zone' comprising the southern third of the nation was secured and the multiplicity of controls on African workers and their labour power had reached extremely cynical proportions, instituting virtual slavery and the gross legacies of racial inequalities which found expression in the so called schools for Africans.

Hitherto left to missionary initiatives, the colonial authorities from 1909 onwards started according subsidies and attention to African education. The German government apparently began "voting funds for black education under pressure from liberals and socialists" (1972:15). For some insight into the nature of this subsidy and the basis of African education in the colonial order, suffice it to point out for the year 1914/15 the colonial authorities allocated "37 times as much for white education".[22] Such was the level of commitment and resources allocated by state-sponsored colonial education for Africans, both in terms of quality and quantity. We shall return to this point later.

The overall education system that has finally evolved in Namibia must be viewed against the historical backdrop of this all-encompassing economic, political, social/cultural scheme of racial exploitation and subjugation/resistance framework underpinning the violent relationship instituted between the colonizers and the majority of the African people. Amid the pacification campaigns, whites-only schools were established for European children of colonialists and made compulsory by 1906 (Ndilula: 388). The scars of this superexploitative and violent historical-structural dialectic are lived by Namibians at every level.

Actually, the striking similarities of fundamental purposes and goals between German military administration and subsequent South African colonial interest is well encapsulated in Emmet's statement that "Exploitation and a highly repressive labour system were the hallmarks of South African rule in Namibia as they were of German rule."[23] In other words, the repressive subordination/exploitation of black labour-power became the focus and fundamental reality of colonial capitalism. Both forms of colonialisms shared the so called settler-colonial frameworks' obsessively racist approach to repression and capitalist surplus exploitation to the point where "South Africa built upon the German colonial foundations by extending her to the Territory" (Moleah:1983:27). Of course, from

---

[22]Nghidi Ndilula, "Namibian education and culture". p. 383, in Namibia 1884-1984 Readings...
[23]Tonny Emmett. "Popular resistance in Namibia, 1902-5". p.226. In Namibia 1884-1984. Ed. Brian Wood. Namibia Support Committee. London in co-operation with United Nations Institute For Namibia.

this period onwards the relationship of exploitation founded by German conquest would be incorporated within the Southern African territorial system of apartheid dominated by South Africa. Educationally speaking, school governance for Africans underwent a decisive transformation from educational arrangements that were solely defined by missionaries to educational structures that fell increasingly under the supervision and control of the centralizing colonial state and educational bureaucracy.

The systematic rationalization and institutions characteristic of *apartheid* rule had to await the South African invasion of German South West Africa which is considered another momentous event in the peoples history and resistance struggle. R.H. Green simply underlines these exploitative features and structural continuities implied in the course of Namibia's harsh occupation when he suggests comparatively that "the history of Namibia can best be summed up as "the political economy of theft", different in impact from "that of the 'plantation economy' created under slavery in the Caribbean which is overlaid with a century and a half of less brutal, less grossly exploitative relationship" (1978:1). Green implies that this history of 'naked' capitalist exploitation of Namibia's peoples is more 'omnipresent', occurring in *the present* and more efficiently/ repressively systematized and transnationally managed.

While one hesitates to compare which variant/phase of capitalist exploitation is more/less 'brutal' than the other, Green's description of Namibia's "context of history" appears to be extensively supported by the available scholarly documentations on the subject and serves as an adequate point of departure here. By the Treaty of Peace and South West Africa Mandate Act, absolute control of the territory fell in the hands of the Prime Minister of South Africa who determined all policies on so called Native issues which, as the Administrator G. Hofmeyer frankly revealed, had become more and more "synonymous with the labour question". The full implications of this phenomenon on the evolution of 'Bantu education' will be duly identified in the appropriate section. This period also marks the beginning of the illegal South African occupation of Namibia.

Indigenous resistance of all types and severity have immensely influenced the rate and method of imposition and stabilization of the colonial policies throughout the territories of South Western Africa. In other words, the colonizing state had to systematically dispossess the indigenous population first through military incursions and treaties where possible. The process was uneven. In this respect the northern part of Namibia were not incorporated until the latter phases of German occupation. Throughout the process, as the Preface to a relatively recent Unesco publication makes it clear "Colonization and occupation, land alienation and 'Bantu Education' have not, however, been imposed on a docile Namibia." Typically characteristic of imperialist-bureaucratic subjugation the roots of resistance begin to sprout wherever repression is the most favored policy of colonial systems. Not surprisingly, the schools became central sites of national resistance. According to an account provided by Barbara Konig, for instance:

> Young black men in Namibia have grown up surrounded by the institutions of apartheid, reinforced by military and police violence. As in South Africa young Namibians have played an important part in fighting for the liberation of their country. Their experiences at schools have often been instrumental in making them aware of the racially discriminatory, repressive system they are forced to live under (Konig:1983,30).

This principle was further expressed by Frantz Fanon when he wrote that "the phenomenon of resistance is observed in the colonized must be related to an attitude of counter-assimilation, of maintenance of cultural, hence national originality.... We here recognize one of the laws of the psychology of colonization. In an initial phase, it is the action, plan of the occupier that determines the center of resistance around which a peoples' will to survive becomes organized" (1959:42/47)[24] The policies of forced assimilation in schools thus helped advance the contradictions in the African's status to the foreground.

---

[24]Reference to Fanon's writings on the theories of colonial violence and resistance may be more than coincidental here. When Tecklengurg was drafting the final plan for the expropriation of tribal lands, along with the enslaving colonial policies of the Transval and the southern United States, he reportedly included the French order of sequestration in Algeria of 1845. The latter model provided the empirical source of Fanon's theories of colonialism and national liberation.

History records that the majority of black people of Namibia have never ceased to manifest their passive and active resistance whether against land expropriation or theft, poor and stagnant wages, repressive labour policies, multiple *apartheid* imposed injustices, pass laws etc., culminating finally in the revolutionary/resistance struggle for national independence spearheaded by SWAPO. As such, analysis must revolve around this constant factor of African peoples' ongoing resistance to domination and cultural dissolution/assimilation to "the level of certain forms of labour" as Dr. Verwoerd later expounded on the foundational logic behind the colonial Bantu Education Act declared in 1953.

The circumstances and conditions of African schooling, as well as the ideological context of the schools began to once again change with their progressive incorporation into the orbit of south African occupation and accumulation.

Chapter 5

Bantu Education or 'Schools of Servitude'

A relentless body of critical research has arisen in the wake of the 1976 intifada: now it is routine to investigate the educational system in South Africa in terms of political economy. Long gone are the days when racial education was portrayed as an iniquitous projection of Africaner ethnic sentiment. What predominates now is the deeper understanding that racial education and the social relations of capitalist exploitation constitute the fundamental touchstones which inquiry should bring together.

Evans:193

It was not until 1915 that South African forces seized all the Namibian territories, further centralizing and refining the administrative-repressive apparatus of the terrorist settler colonial state without, however, markedly effecting the entrenched 'mode of exploitation' set in motion by German conquest and imperialism. At the end of the World War, Namibia became a League of Nations trust territory and was mandated to South Africa as "a sacred trust in the name of civilization" and assigned the responsibility to "promote to the utmost the material and moral well-being of its inhabitants" (Profile Section:1991). Much has been written on the League's and later the UN's involvement in Namibia's ensuing political contradictions and overall historical fate.

It is evident that one of the violations of this sacred trust was most eloquently expressed in the institution of Bantu Education, which more or less extended the so-called "Rohrbach's postulation" to the educational principles governing Africans. Important for this discussion is how schools in the colony were set up to satisfy the needs of settler or "white" industry.... To recall, "Rohrbach's postulation" stipulated that "African existence can only be justified by working for Whites" and only under certain conditions. Extra-economic, political and pedagogical measures to advance and maintain this rationality were intensified with disastrous effects on the African populations. Under the impact of early *apartheid* practices, though not referred to by this name at this stage, racial separation/ inequality of the population increasingly began to assume a determining factor in the

institutional and geographic configurations of society. In the sphere of education, the project of Bantu Education was to become one of the unique inventions of *apartheid* statecraft.

Although not fully extended everywhere, elements of *apartheid* (literally "living apart") had from the start constituted part of the Africaaner ideology since its intrusion/ constitution into the Boer free states of South Africa. Racial laws in ownership and political rights were part of the foundational principles of these slave based social formations. At first, "petty apartheid" laws which advanced economic and social inequalities into every fabric of life and livelihood in South Africa also began to extend themselves throughout Namibia during the Inter-War years. Africans began to be systematically uprooted from their ancestral homes and brutally expelled to "reserves" and "homelands" continuing the well-practiced methods of dispossession and land alienation, brutally initiated by German colonialism. In effect the economic imperatives of colonialism were throwing up a mass of *semi-slave* labour, to use First's description of this 'migrant' labour force that could be shifted about at will, without security, family or property "to satisfy the needs of white owned enterprises" (Pomeroy:1971:23) and the rising demands of transnational capital. Far-reaching/methodical systems of geographic and social systems/institutions of racial exclusions began to be set up throughout Namibia particularly after the Nazi-inspired Nationalist Party of South Africa came to power in 1948.

According to a policy programme of the Nationalist Party circulating at the 1947 'whites only' electoral campaign, the new doctrine was asserted in the following instructive terms: "the policy of our country should encourage total apartheid as the ultimate goal of a natural process of separate development". The role of the state in the process of "separate development" was that of "preserving and safeguarding the White Race". Nothing is more fundamental to understanding the intentions and rationale of the state institutions responsible for dispensing Bantu Education to forcibly segregated African homelands in Southern Africa.

What is important for this section of the discussion is to identify the specific regulative mechanisms and procedures of Bantu Education and its doctrine of education in more detail and within the narrative of successive colonial transformations, carved out as it were by foreign conquest. The resulting education system for Africans has been shaped almost totally by this pervasive 'master race' doctrine and the practical imperatives of reintegrating conquered 'natives' into the labour process of the colonial mode in order to better safeguard the profit motive of the white race. The drive towards total apartheid was on.

Tendentiously, the commodification of African labour became more extensive with the spread of metropolitan international economic forces into pre-capitalist sites and modes. Cynically coercive systems of labour control and exploitation were systematically enforced through increasingly centralized state intervention as identified in the last section. In the course of South African occupation of the territories, racism began to be fashioned into more methodic and systemic institutional expressions albeit with abundant quotes and reference to biblical sources and the sanctity of white civilization. At the end of the day, the original *raison d'etre* of this juridically enforced racism lay not in the incurably racist sentiments of Germans and Africaans alone but within the brutal imperatives of ongoing 'primitive accumulation' in the Africa of the *labour reserves*.

It was within this larger process of colonization that the modern education systems of Namibia were rooted: first to the German colonial imposition and later to South Africa's sub-imperialist apartheid domination. In tandem with missionary interests at first, the colonial state gradually established its centralized domination/control over larger and larger areas of the territories' populations extending further into the northern regions of the country. To be sure, it took time before the racist dictatorship was able to consolidate its power securely and fully implant its ideological instructions. It was not until the 1960's that state schools became established in the northern part of the country (Kleinhans and Lewis:1993: 2). Education for 'natives' or Africans, not to mention the more insulting

terminologies of 'Hottentots' and 'Klipkaffirs' was defined in strictly economic-functional and utilitarian terms and limited "usually only for five years" (1993:2). As a pedagogy of those condemned to what amounts to forced labour, Bantu Education emerged as a crucial part of a complex racist superstructure of control/domination (policing/repression) designed to rationalize the systematic expropriation of Africa's labour and resources by the occupying state.[25] The institution of 'education' thus served the purpose of instilling racial humiliation, diminished expectation and absolute submission to the ideology and economic functions of *apartheid*.

The underlying migratory 'contract' conditions and low/intermittent levels of remunerations which defined the necessary skill acquisition for Africans, were legislated/ enforced and later systematically institutionalized in the course of South Africa's occupation and subsequent UN mandated *trusteeship* period of the territories. Despite the oppositional diplomatic maneuvers at the UN , South Africa's apartheid regime had relentlessly proceeded with its mission of conquest 'on the ground'. In 1947 South Africa formally announced to the UN its annexation plan for the trust territory. By 1949 certain South African laws were already extended to the territories and the White representatives of the colonial state sat as South-West's Africa's 'representatives' in the South African parliament. The piecemeal 'illegal' incorporation of the territories into the orbit of South Africa's territorial apartheid and within *sub-imperialist* context of regional exploitation had became secure. After this period (1947) Namibia began to be absorbed into the total apartheid scheme devised in Pretoria.

In the process, Namibia grew intrinsic to the economic survival of South Africa's sub-imperialist control of the region to the same extent that South Africa itself became vital

---

[25]Among the numerous laws that finally emerged along with the Bantu Education Act "which makes education without permit an offense - surely an offense unique in the world-to educate without a permit" is the Proclamation Act of 1953 "which bans meetings of more than ten Africans in scheduled areas" and the Native Laws Amendment Act "which introduces rational discrimination in churches and places of worship" William J. Pomeroy Apartheid Axis United States & South Africa, 1973. International Publishers. New York. p. 87.

to overall Western-US led hegemony over that region's peoples, geography and strategic resources. In the mid-twentieth century *apartheid* state policy which aimed to once and for all consolidate "the socio-geographic separation" of the races and tribes of the region also legislated the unique "Bantu Education" Act, associated with total apartheid.[26] This educational phenomenon explicitly sought to recondition the bodies, minds and aspirations of young black Namibians to the inferior-menial and unskilled requirements of foreign owned agribusiness complexes and labour-intensive minefields, which had began operating throughout the territories. The main philosophical tenets of Bantu Education were spelled out by H. Verwoerd, when he rhetorically queried the high points of the segregationist Bantu Education Act in 1953. "What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice...? (1973:19). Henceforth black African education became the responsibility of the Department of Native Affairs and was placed explicitly within the bureaucratic field of labour regulation and police/security practices of the state.

The educational apparatus of apartheid was designed around systematic exclusion of the black masses from the mainstream of civilization and their conversion into cheap commodities in "accordance with the policy of the state" as Verwoerd had clearly elaborated on the purpose of this Act. The process of valorization of capital in the region and the institutional purposes of Bantu Education are inextricably interlinked. Thus on the methodological plane it is important to emphasize a shift from viewing racial education as merely a "mechanism of racial or ethnic *domination*" to one "stressing its links to the relations of capitalist *exploitation*" which according to Evans provides the point of departure for the "radical analysis of today" (Evans:1991:193).

Indeed "Bantu Education" instilled neither skill nor intellectual training in native Africans or 'Bantu' populations as they began to be officially configured under the more rigid definition where the melanin index or race of subjects became the primary criteria for social policy and educational opportunities. In this way, the apartheid colonial state

[26]The South African Group Areas Act of 1950 had already initiated wholesale segregation of the races.

exercises coercive/regulatory control over "virtually all aspects of African life" progressively confining Africans to what are in essence cheap labour reservoirs no longer able to reproduce for themselves. Squalid reserves or insulated Bantustans with separate identities, curricula and presumably separate "self-government" but without the necessary resources and powers of decisions. Education functions precisely in accordance with this doctrine of total "separateness" of unequally evolved races, which is the actual meaning of the term apartheid in the English language.[27]

The apartheid philosophy thus summarized has been around for decades now, defining the historical "uniqueness" of structures as well as the enduring features of apartheid-colonialism still holding out in this region of the world. The educational apparatus of the white minority regime has always played a central role in the material reproduction and legitimation of apartheid's ideology and practices. Applied specifically to Namibian education, SWAPO has located the source of the current problems in the 'philosophy' and practices of apartheid's so-called Bantu Education system which was the final arbiter of the educational standards, achievements and socialization process of all native Namibian subjects of South Africa's "grande apartheid" design. Based on the same racist educational 'theory' and administered from Pretoria, the dismal conditions of black education here are basically identical to that of blacks in South Africa and may be traced directly to the process/rationale and objectives of Bantu Education. Under this system of colonial repression, black Africans were neither offered nor allowed the necessary schooling and training to acquire the jobs that skilled people, a designation of proficiency which became almost wholly synonymous with whites or the "European community" in Namibia and South Africa. Their 'education' was strictly terminal. Stripped of citizenship in the larger nation, black Africans had no rights in urban areas unless employed in

---

[27]According to W.J. Pomeroy apartheid literally means "living apart". Apartheid Axis, International Publishers, New York, 1973. p.16.

"productive labour" for white-owned industries. The appropriate skills for survival under these conditions would be transmitted by the curricula and demands of Bantu Education.

As Verwoerd, who was prime minister of South Africa from 1958 to 1966, mentioned instructively in a debate during the passage of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, concerning the "native", "there is no place for him in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community ..."[28] Apartheid education thus rested on the premise of the strict segregation of the races based on the 'inherent' and 'divinely ordained' or even *natural* inferiority of black Africans to European settlers. Competition between the races at any level was not to be tolerated nor encouraged or desirable under these circumstances. A totally separate system of education, suitable for native Africans, thus had to be designed.

Indeed, those "certain forms of labour" deemed "appropriate" to the African were largely restricted to menial tasks of labouring inside the profitable and labour-intensive multi-national mines, foreign-owned plantations and other areas of domestication 'reserved' specifically for the huge "reserves" of black labour power upon whose exploitation the apartheid state and foreign capital had accumulated gigantic surpluses. There is little doubt that international capital has thrived under this arrangement for decades. Apartheid schooling was thus strictly segregated according to race and ethnicity and the quality of education, funding and facilities offered to blacks were grossly inferior and offered few possibilities of further advancement beyond seasonal or full employment in the domestic economy and labour scene described above.

Although officially introduced in Namibia in 1970, in practice Bantu education was widespread already in the early 1960's and had its origins in the old barb-wire type apartheid imposed by German colonialism. By the mid-1970's however, the colonial state had finally broken the monopoly of missionary societies who had "sole responsibility for

[28]Ibid., W.J. Pomeroy.,p.19.

the education of Africans until the mid-1960's" (Kiljunen and Kiljunen:1981:106). Despite the historical shifts in the statutes and authorities governing "native" education, so-called "biblical knowledge" remained a prominent part of the Bantu curriculum/ideology through which the apartheid state and church exercised extraordinary control over the minds and economic fate of the indigenous peoples.

Apartheid philosophy advances the policy of educational segregation on the basis of race/ethnicity and is antithetical to the principle of equal access to education between the 'superior' colonizer (white), the colonised 'inferior' (black) Namibians and the mixed or "in-between" 'coloured' population.[29] This racist principle of "separateness" and presumed racial 'superiority' of the colonizer over the colonized races has been historically decisive in determining the unequal/discriminatory educational entitlements, attainments and possibilities circumscribed to both the indigenous black populations and the white colonizers. Indeed the apartheid doctrine of education, had given rise to what H. Bernstein has called "Schools for Servitude". As a direct consequence of this approach to schooling the apartheid system has evolved a unique educational experience accurately identified by W. G. McConkey as "the only education system in the world designed to restrict the productivity of its pupils in the national economy to lowly and subservient tasks, to render them non-competitive in that economy, to fix them in a tribal world..." (La Guma: 1971: 44).

It is not certain whether this is the only education system worldwide that has this effect. For instance Carnoy has argued that under Africa's neo-colonial educational institutions, children from poorer and rural backgrounds (roughly 80% of the continents children) have actually become less valuable in the labour market "job-wise and salary-wise" upon graduation (1980:4).[30] At any rate, anybody interested in critically assessing

---

[29]For a more detailed approach to the history of "colored Politics" see P. Hugo, Quislings or Realists: A Documentary Study of 'Colored' Politics in South Africa. Raven Press 1978.

[30]For a fuller critique see M. Carnoy's "Education for Alternative Development". Stanford University 1980. This tendency suggests a move towards de-skilling.

the policies and various institutional mechanism's suggested for reversing this phenomenon today, would do well to understand the dehumanizing/limiting legacies of Bantu Education. (Although not to the same racist extent, this is also true in other school systems, as streaming practices have subtly illustrated.)

The logic of apartheid is most vividly articulated in the Bantustans themselves, where African families are confined/imprisoned by the political structures/regulations of Namibia's *apartheid* occupation forces. Studies on the contract system conducted among the Ovambos has brought a host of deeply-felt economic/cultural and psychological deprivations to the surface. Although these experiences are in turn reflected in the wretched learning environment and human conditions of surrounding Ovambo families their interconnections are played down or simply ignored in mainstream academic literature.[31] The mining industry employs the largest number of black worker's in the migratory circuit which increases transnational corporate profits but brings disastrous effects on African families. The influence of this industry has imbalanced the total social and cultural environment of Africans. Writers often cite lack of freedom of movement, monotony of the labour process, drunkenness, venereal disease, moral/ethical emptiness as endemic in the migrant laborer's reality. One inevitably finds that radical disintegration of family structures have produced serious intergenerational effects on the educational performance of African children.

Ginwala's research for example focuses on the situation of African women under colonial-apartheid laws and sadly concludes that "only in Bantustans can an African family automatically live together" (1981:49) as a right. Added to this burden was the cruel predicament that "alone of all the countries in the world, the authorities in Namibia and South Africa do not consider the African family as a unit" (1981:49) in the legal, biological

---

[31]The current trend is to suggest the building of new school facilities and provision of current "learner-centered" materials and UNESCO-sponsored teacher training programmes instead of changing the hazardous/unjust environment (social and economic) of the learners. This epistemic position emerges as the Achilles heel of Namibia's comprehensive strategy for post-apartheid educational reform and renewal from the perspective of this thesis.

and ethical sense of the term, thereby sponsoring the mass population movement, control/exploitation process which brutally impinges on the human rights of the African populations at all levels. Predictably, the indigenous children suffer from the father's extended absence from the 'Reserves' setting off a 'cycle' of deprivation. In analyzing the responses addressed to a questionnaire exploring this particular subject, Voipio explains how one particular miner writes that: "The upbringing of children is hard if the mother is alone... [or] the children leave school because their father isn't at home" (1981:117). Education, under these circumstances of active despoliation and "permanent siege of the indigenous population" (Cabral:1972: 590) in barren reserves is rather problematic. This is why SWAPO had to totally reject the inherited colonial education system for blacks as a whole and advocate a nationally integrated educational system in the end.

Structured to service tribally fragmented and impoverished labor reservoirs and 'homelands', schools were divided in eleven ethnically/racially defined school administrative authorities. Officially empowered by the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Odentaal Plan of 1962, and inspired by the philosophy of "separate development", these separate authorities have been responsible for providing education to members of their own ethnic group up to standard 10 (Grade 12). They provided separate teacher education facilities for primary school teachers under their own jurisdiction although the state ultimately decided what was to be inculcated in the African mind.[32] Finally, eleven different ministries managed by eleven mutually exclusive authorities organized along racially/ethnically graded lines with the allocation of privileged resources and rewards overwhelmingly favoring the dominant White population came into existence (Muskin, (1993:2) . This was the educational scenario that had evolved until the declaration of independence. The unification/integration of these eleven racial/ethnic education entities into a unified non-racial and democratic system of national education dictates many of the

---

[32]See for instance The Namibia Pre-service Teacher Education Project written by The Centre for International Education and Development (CIED), Department of Educational Foundations, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta.

reform priorities today. Setting the theme for the reform process, Nahas Angula's the National Integrated Educational System for Emergent Namibia prohibits the propagation, practice or ideology of apartheid in educational instruction (Turner:1990:44).

By any standard and measurement the inherited educational deprivation of indigenous Namibians continues to be extensive and a diagnostic approach to the problem would have to take these dimensions into consideration. The Ovambo began to refer to the contract system as a new kind of slavery without alternative except joining the struggle for liberation with SWAPO. Energized by the "winds of change" sweeping the continent in the 1960's, Namibians brought their case more and more to international attention. With South African intransigence demonstrated repeatedly at international venues and conferences on Namibia, the country was fast becoming a region of heavily-armed fortifications giving greater advantage and momentum to SWAPO liberation struggle and the rise of popular nationalism. Desperate political maneuvers by South Africa to portray SWAPO as an international threat and exclusive agent for ethnic 'Ovambos' and international communism failed to sway broad sections of the popular masses.

SWAPO of Namibia, as a movement, has matured resisting these domesticating education/labour policies of the apartheid state and has consequently laid great emphasis on the need for "affirmative action in education with a view to addressing historical wrongs as a result of apartheid", as stated in the Constitution. The actual application of this "affirmative" educational restructuring promises to be a problematic undertaking. This thesis will evaluate SWAPO's policies in this area in more detail later. With the onset of the Cold War, events were developing on the diplomatic front as well. As a result of intensive petitioning throughout the late 1950's and 1960's in 1968 again , a UN resolution designated the nation under direct UN control. Regardless of UN resolutions however, South Africa continued its colonial stranglehold of Namibia's economy and illegal occupation of the colonial state complete with militarized apartheid and Bantu education system.

Increasingly, focused resistance to apartheid as a whole and 'Bantu Education' as an institution became one and the same thing, placing schools at the forefront of the political/military struggle between the forces of colonisation and decolonisation. Only certain aspects of the situation can be touched upon here, in order to better evaluate the beginnings of the new historical epoch of non-racial education and its peculiar contradictions in the next section. The ongoing resistance simmering among African mining contract-labourers, students, peasants and petite-bourgeoisie fractions finally climaxed into a bitter armed confrontation waged systematically by SWAPO which rapidly grew throughout the 1960's to be recognized as the only legitimate expression of Namibia's national aspirations. This struggle more than anything else provided the conditions for the first indigenous and African-controlled government to finally gain political power in Namibia. In March of 1989, a new 'independence' era in Namibian history was inaugurated. The educational reform agenda of total reform and renewal needs to be reconsidered from this juncture onwards.

To be sure, SWAPO's leadership was not always committed to the reform and renewal principles of education which only emerged after *Etosha*. Progressively however, the principles of comprehensive revolutionary self-reliance originally adhered to by SWAPO had began to give way to a massive network of international initiatives in all areas. Substantial conflicts of interests, global and local, were played out in the course of the independent struggle which finally gave precedence to reformist discourse on educational policy.

In the process SWAPO had undergone a veritable metamorphosis. The Marxist-inspired and class-based, nationalist ideological constructions (*Political Programme* and *Programme of Action*), that had motivated educational policy considerations in the past had become replaced by the metaphysics of universals (Amin:1991) which were to be fully articulated at Jomtien. Liberal-bourgeois humanitarian considerations, above all else, began to structure the and constitutional negotiations and *inter alia* educational objectives.

brokered by the Western 'Contact Group' on behalf of Namibia's independence. SWAPO soon began speaking of a "Unified National Education System which is non-racial, non-ethnic and non-racist."[33] After this point, it is safe to assume that SWAPO has also evolved from an armed anti-imperialist guerilla organization into a respectably 'bourgeois' nationalist movement certain of gaining post-independence state power.

[33]Pedagogy In Transition: Imperatives Of Educational Development In The Republic Of Namibia. Republic of Namibia. Submission of the Ministry of Education and Culture to the National Assembly. May 1991.

Chapter 6

The Language Issue

"The English tongue is rapidly spreading and bids fair to become the general language of the human race"

Sir John Milliam Lubbock (1803-65)

The purpose of this section is to give an overview of the language dimension embodied in Namibia's educational history and relate its meaning to the post-apartheid educational reform initiative. The imperialistic evolution of the issue is firmly rooted in the major economic, social and political developments that have been discussed so far. Because they are rather well-known by now, it is needless to dwell on the main economic motives and structures of colonialism, other than to draw out the language issue in the reform process.

The real aim of colonialism, from the point of view of colonized writers, is not simply control/exploitation of the national wealth but also that of the mental landscape which involves the domination of the 'mental universe' of the colonized through imposition of culture and language.[34] Taken as a whole therefore, critical intellectuals of the colonized argue that "the domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonizing nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonized"(Ngugi wa Thiongo:1986:17). This dialectical relationship takes specific forms throughout Africa.

Historically speaking, the complex relationship between education and the imposition of foreign language(s) is as old as the 'modern' educational history of Namibia and spans the whole period since missionaries made their first appearance in the region. As Ngugi has critically remarked on this issue in his work *Decolonizing The Mind*, "Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control"

---

[34]Ngugi wa Thion'o in Decolonizing The Mind: the politics of language in African literature 1986 defines language as a 'carrier of culture' (17). On the same theme , he writes: Language as communication and as culture are then products of each other: culture is a means of communication" (15-16).

(1986:17) either through the maintenance of enforced illiteracy in the mother tongue or imposition of a foreign language by the ruling race. In the latter case, alienation from the local community may occur. South Africa's Bantu education curriculum has added a new dimension to the language problem by employing linguistic differences "as a tool for division and fragmentation" (Turner:1990:52).

Missionaries first defined the appropriate language of schooling for Namibians according to their own national origins. The phenomenon of colonial alienation takes varied forms including far-reaching linguistic-cultural estrangement from one's original community. In a society where 65% adults are still considered illiterate, language is certain to be at the forefront of the cultural struggle to promote post-apartheid literacy for all, unity and 'progress' as envisioned by the new constitution. In this case, why will the English tongue of Sir Lubbock be given preference in independent Namibia? Important to this discussion is that the pre-independence African population has been submerged in the prescribed indigenous vernacular under the rhetoric of 'separate development'. The context and purpose of this native vernacular use however must be placed within the complex structures of racially dominant and dominated relations gradually elaborated by the occupying power. While in many African countries, French and English speakers are for the most part ill-schooled in their own tongues, Namibians have not been able to become widely proficient beyond their mother tongues as part of *apartheid's* governance. Africaans and German were the privileged languages of the colonizers and out of bounds to *Bantu* 'natives'. Segregated from each other and others, Namibians have been kept under enforced alienation from their national compatriots and the larger international community.

In a new series of Namibian radio programming intended for teachers, the first transmission is frankly entitled "Let's Speak English" heralding ne linguistic points of departure for the current process of reform aimed at teachers and Namibian

educational/cultural agencies in general.[35] English will henceforth be the language of formal schooling beyond early primary learning and therefore the most important tongue in the education of the Namibian child. It is also the language of the nation's teacher training facilities. This shift expresses what Fanon calls a "mutation, a radical change of valence" within a national struggle/consciousness, perceptible when the linguistic system of the occupation authorities and their channels of communication (radio etc.) and technologies of power assume totally new meanings and uses. In the technical sense: "The phenomena of wireless and the receiver set [lose] their coefficient of hostility, [are] stripped of their character of extraneousness, and [become] part of the coherent order of the nation in battle" (1967: 90). Although Fanon was analyzing the dynamics of decolonization in Algeria, certain themes identified in his volume *A Dying Colonialism*, particularly those pertaining to language and communication offer interesting analytical tools and sociological parallels for Namibia. Notwithstanding the unique characteristics operative in different colonized nations, in all cases language intervention "in general" constitutes an integral part of the *coefficient* of colonization, exploitation and power relations at work in society. Although not directly the tongue of the colonizers, this dynamic has important implications for the acceptance of English as a national language.

The idea of colonial languages possessing some form of 'extraneousness' or the state of being external and hostile to the colonized person is central to the lived experience of the colonized African. It is after all mastery of *their* (European) language instead of ours (African) that commands multiple social rewards and academic respect in the future. In the process of national liberation however it may happen that the language of domination may be progressively stripped of its externality, its dehumanizing colonial prohibitions and 'exclusions' by acquiring the category of relative neutrality or being "endowed with a positive coefficient" in the course of the nationalist struggle, according to Fanon's analysis

---

[35]This is part of the English language for teachers by radio programme which has a high profile in the reform process.

of the role of French tongue in Algeria's experience of national liberation and self-perception. In Namibia's case however, Africaans has not emerged as a neutral medium of discourse and much less evolved into a positive *coefficient*. Its ongoing hostility and oppressive presence in Southern Africa remains unredeemed due to the ongoing dominance of the Boers in the region. The positive *coefficiency* of a foreign language in the course of SWAPO's national struggle has been assumed by English instead. This is enshrined in the constitution. According to *Article 3* of the post-apartheid Namibian constitution, "The official language of Namibia shall be English" (1990:49). The Namibian state now conducts its affairs in English and is working hard to entrench it as a *ligua franca* and language of education and success in post-apartheid Namibia.

In its efforts to exorcise the historically offensive-enslaving dominance of *Africaans*, the new Namibian leadership has used the communication channels and broadcasting facilities of the new Republic to valorize English (another alien and metropolitan language) as a useful language of liberation and teaching. English will be an essential component of curriculum and classroom experience in post-apartheid Namibia and is selected to become a second mother tongue for Namibians. The Educational Broadcasting Unit of the NBC runs a radio programme entitled Calling All Teachers to convey the new gospel of equal educational opportunities for all and to ensure proficiency in English. It is a forum on which state officials reportedly articulate the new attitude adopted toward the English language, pedagogic principles and affirm/discuss the directives of the reform process to inform the teachers involved. Extensive investigations into the teaching/implications of languages are discussed at all levels, with English receiving an overwhelming presence in the new opportunities and strategies for reform.[36] In what amounts to a nationally concerted effort in this direction, nine radio programmes

---

[36]Particularly in the northern part of the country known as Ovamboland where half of the country's population resides "there is a strong preference for English and may primary schools seem already to have moved to using English as a medium of instruction even in Sub-A" see J. Turner's consultancy entitled Education In Namibia 1990:51.

with a course book have been produced "to improve the English skills of teachers" (1991:42) and to ensure their employability in the unification and rationalization processes defining the new education system. Clearly the English tongue is progressively acquiring the role of *Logos* in Namibian society, to continue the Fanon-Ngugi line of reasoning.

Multi-dimensional efforts along these lines are thus underway to modify the linguistic relations that had prevailed in Namibia. Considerable energy is dedicated to entrenching English as the leading language of instruction in Namibia's post-apartheid system of higher education. The language and long-term prospect of the Namibian child's formal education will be foreign beyond the early primary level which will be conducted through the local medium. The selection of English as the language of reform finds its roots in the character and surrounding international politics of the liberation struggle waged by SWAPO.

The overall pedagogical orientation of the language proposal proceeds as follows. "Ideally", states the policy directive published in 1991 "all children should study two languages as subjects from Grade 1 onwards, one of which must be English. Schools should make arrangements to accommodate such a two language curriculum . . ." (1991:25). This 'bilingual' approach addresses the minimum language imperatives of the reform initiative. Conducted in the local vernacular, the primary levels attempts to forge a bridge between the world's of home and school seemingly validating the African's identity. At the higher levels however, the language curriculum envisions the gradual phasing-in of English as "the main medium of instruction" by around 1996. This orientation aptly captures the overall significance attributed to English as the dominant foreign language of national communication, government administration and school instruction in post-apartheid Namibia.

This linguistic conversion at work in Namibia represents a decisive mutation from the situation prior to independence. Though it had progressively enhanced in stature during the struggle for liberation, English has only recently emerged as the favored "medium" of

the education process. Only after independence did it decisively eclipse Africaans and prior to that German as the language of 'government rationality' or 'governmentality' to invoke Michel Foucault's conceptualization of the *political* domain. Both languages had alternately served as the *lingua franca* of the repressive and ideological apparatus of the racist *apartheid* state's governmentality (system of thinking about the nature and practice of government) since the onset of colonialism, disqualifying themselves as a basis for communication and culture in an avowedly non-racial and pluralistic/independent Namibia.

A French linguist is said to have once remarked that a national language is a dialect with an army and navy behind it. I am not certain about the origin of this statement but he might have included the security and race police, to accurately communicate the racist technologies of power involved in suppressing the full development of the different indigenous languages of Southern Africa. This linguistic dictum is certainly not unique to Namibia and in general summarizes the principles of power inherent in the language issue manifest throughout the continent of Africa. Vital to understanding the language terrain of Namibia contextually is the historical data. The language *dispensation* of the colony, as they say, was historically influenced by the origins and powers of the multiple colonizing masters whose dominance 'in combination' was responsible for elaborating the now moribund (eleven) apartheid educational administrative structures and exclusionary language demarcations. The linguistic separations between ethnic and racial groups were absolute/irreconcilable and reinforced by the ideology of *apartheid*. The programme of 'Bantu Education' could certainly not see native learners accessing a two language curriculum, nor were the occupiers inclined to believe that Africans had the mental capacity to perform beyond "certain forms of labour" allegedly 'natural' to blacks. In short both languages of occupation (German and Africaans) are still identified with the cruelties, violence and excesses of colonialism and *apartheid*, while English is emerging favorably as the language of global trade and acceptable 'medium' of communication among the indigenous elite. Those in charge of the reform process argue that the creation of a united

and integrated national society can be best achieved in English. The new language of communication therefore constitutes what Ngugi has referred to as "the official vehicle and the magic formula to . . . elitedom" in the contemporary world order. In post-apartheid Namibia, English represents the linguistic 'credit-card' out of the restricted world of the Reserves and Bantustans and into the mainstream of global civilization.

A linguistic pattern had thus been established by forces of history. Missionaries invariably adhered to the 'home' languages of their origins when proselytizing or 'educating' their natives, well until German colonialism gradually entrenched the German language as the *lingua franca* of the country at large, for both commerce and administration, in the late 19th century. The secularization process of the education system was thus initiated in German and completed in Africaans as it were, incorporating the systems of rationality and racial obsessions of both colonizing powers. South African occupation forces later imposed Africaans as the dominant language of governmentality without displacing the influence of German as a language of communication and instruction for selected German schools, ethnic 'colonies' and zones of influence. Both these languages have played crucial roles in establishing the 'conduct', national identities and self-definition of powerful Namibian minorities, but carry little or no resonance in carefully isolated rural Namibia. The entire natural and socio-psychological complex here and at the level of concrete schools was mediated in the various native African tongues or languages, to ensure the absence of competition between the races and safeguard the prestige and economy of the ruling race. To those children for whom native languages constitute the mother-tongues, the whole notion of acquiring a *modern* education now implies progressive divorce or dissociation from their spoken languages used in the immediate home environment. Ngugi adduces insightfully, "Learning, for a colonial child, becomes a cerebral activity and not an emotionally felt experience" imposing a certain fragmented consciousness or perception of reality on the educated native. Henceforth one's rise in the

social hierarchy of post-apartheid Namibia is manifested by the effective command of English.

Among Africans, all three foreign languages (Africaans, German, English) are considered "imposed languages" though they are spoken as 'mother tongues' by a large number of indigenous Namibians today. Thus, in cognizance of this basic reality the new constitution "permits the use of language other than English for legislative, administrative and judicial purposes in regions or areas where such other language or languages are spoken by a substantial component of the population" (1990:49). The reasons for such caution are probably both pragmatic-administrative and perhaps politically motivated to underscore the new consensual and conciliatory and democratic politics favored by the post-apartheid leadership. Given the acknowledged absence of English-proficient "officials" and readily qualified English-language teachers a complete overhaul of the language terrain into English would prove impractical as well. The gradual phasing-in of English has thus become the focus of the reform consensus. Certainly, as Turner has pointed out on this relevant issue "great damage might be done by too early an insistence on teaching through the medium of English in the lower classes" (1990:51). As remarked earlier, the deficit of English-trained personnel may be a contributing factor delaying the sole introduction of English and the exclusion of the other administrative European languages prior to 1996.

The phasing-in process thus starts politically, that is at the level of administrators and government functions. There is considerable cultural resistance among 'old guard' civil servants over the implementation of new language policies already. Not surprisingly 'hold over' civil service personnel exhibit a strong attachment to Africaans as a mode of expression/communication in government, according to Professor John Turner. His evidence is drawn from personal meetings with administrators and authorities of the Department of National Education and the Academy. Specifically, Turner was struck that many "innovatory documents relating to the future of education in independent Namibia

were first prepared in Africaans and still without English translations after independence" (1990: 50). Evidently Africaans had not been purged from public rationality and as a language of communication in the bureaucracy. It is safe to assume that the policy role of these highly placed civil servants of apartheid will gradually devolve upon NIED's elite which is committed to articulating policy initiatives and decisions strictly in English. In other words, correspondence within the unified management and administration of NIED and its regional offices and auxiliary services will be conducted in English. The conceptualization of the reform process is in English as is the international language of 'consensus' connecting the regime and its external partners.[37] Policy documents and analyses are now routinely conducted and published in English. At the school level as well, English has been designated to emerge as the dominant medium of instruction/ communication gradually i.e. progressively in the course of the primary cycle, where English will be a compulsory subject until gradually all teaching will be delivered in English after high school.[38]

The phasing-in of English is set to begin this year, i.e., 1993. English has not always been a dominant language in Namibia and by that reason also not fully identified with the oppressive apartheid state. Indeed towards the closing years of the armed struggle English began to be considered as a "language of liberation" and unification thereby gaining an advantage over the other 'imposed' European tongues hailing from Europe. English speaking schools were shown to start the integration process sooner and with less resistance. For official as well as pedagogical purposes, English is clearly destined to be the dominant language of instruction and literacy in post-apartheid Namibia. As the language policy of the Republic clearly defines the scope of the language reform: "English shall be the medium of communication in official correspondence, reports and

---

[37]Particularly in the northern regions of the country there is apparently a strong demand for English among a substantial part of the population (1990:49).

[38]According to a 1990 policy statement by MUC "only 25% of our school going population are at secondary schools. about 17% of these are at the Junior secondary level and 5% are at the senior secondary level"(1990:26-7).

communication. School reports to parents may be written in the language which the particular parents understands best" (1990:11). Gesture toward indigenous languages are routinely stated but it is English that occupies the core of thinking on language and the school.

German and Africaans are in the process of being supplanted by English nationwide, both as languages of governmentality and gradually as languages of school instruction. For educational purposes, German and Africaans will continue to be offered as options or "mother tongues" to learners, much like the other identifiable African tongues for the moment.[39] The English language is thus the medium of the whole multi-dimensional reform process animating the national, unified, common system of education administration and management as spelled out clearly after the *Etosha Conference*. The "ultimate aims" of this language policy merits reproduction here.

1. Home language medium of instruction Grades 1 to 3 with English as a subject. English medium lower primary schools are also allowed;

2. English as a medium of instruction for all promotional subjects, except a language, at upper primary, that is, Grades 4 to 7. The home language or any other language may be taught as a subject;

3. English as a medium of instruction for all subjects at secondary school level, vocational/technical institutions and teacher training colleges as well as tertiary level. The home language or the foreign language may be studied as a subject (1991:5).

---

[39]According to the publication Towards a Language Policy for Namibia (UNIN, 1981). There are seven main language groups in Namibia : Oshiwambo (seven main dialects), Otjiherero, Kavango (five main dialects), Caprivi (five main dialects), Khoi-san (two main dialects), Setswana. See also Education in Namibia Report of a Consultancy by Professor John Turner (1990: ch 4). The languages mentioned as options in the new language curriculum are Khoekhoegowab (Nama/Damara) O'shikwanyma, Oshindonga, Otjiherero, Rugciriku, Rukwangali, Setswana, Silozi, and Thimbukushu (1991:25)

Obviously it will take time before NIED acquires the relevant technical capacity and resources to fully implement all the policies necessary to operationalize this language rationality. As of 1991 the Directorate of Language Research was not adequately staffed and NIED was still expecting all the advertized positions to be filled in 1992. Shortage of professional staff appears to be a major constraint in all policy areas. A reconstruction process is underway however with encouraging support from multiple external sources of funding and research who employ the English language to maintain correspondence with the policy and administrative leadership of the reform process. The educational planners and assistants who staff The Directorate of Language Research, are responsible for gradually phasing-in English according to the operational aims and 'bilingual' strategies briefly discussed above. In principle, bilingual education programmes in curricular content have been found to assist in academic success (Campos and Keating 1988), where the context allows and promotes motivation.

On the broader level allowances are being made to resuscitate and develop indigenous languages to satisfy the resurgence of interest and pride in the indigenous "mother tongues" and cultures of Namibia. The MUC sees the necessity for introducing structures and appropriate reforms to facilitate the development of indigenous Namibian languages while concentrating on nurturing English as a basis of communication for all Namibians. The Department of Culture empowered with fostering the material and spiritual cultures of Namibia is apparently experiencing the centrifugal pull of particular ethnic groups/forces in the process of reform. This linguistic tension will necessarily continue to influence the economy of power in the post-colonial period. Much has been made of a possible "Ovambo hegemony" to cast an ethnic, not to say a tribal tinge on SWAPO's nationalist aspirations in the past. In promoting English as the major medium of schooling, the advocates of national unity and integration may have found a practical and rhetorically 'neutral' means of displacing this historic ethnic rivalries/fears sustained among Africans

by forces linked closely to *apartheid*. Officially, only in the formative stages will any of the Home Languages serve as the medium of instruction i.e., Grades 1-3 and gradually give way to English which takes over as a medium of instruction for all subjects at the Secondary level, colleges and at tertiary levels. Such a situation means that the more effectively the African child is educated the more the external world of Europe emerges as the centre of *logos* and the universe. In other words, mastery of English becomes the leading determinant of a child's progress up the ladder of formal education.

The role of English in unifying and consolidating the struggle for nation-building, the language of governmentality and as *logos*....will be emphasized in the teaching world, school compounds, curriculum and throughout the reaches of the reform process. This cultural Eurocentricity is perhaps conceived as a matter of "temporary historical necessity" as D. Diop and other colonized intellectuals saw the use of English and French in post-colonial Africa. Subsequent events have proved rather stubborn.

Chapter 7

After Etosha

The special emphasis that I believe is guiding the deliberations in this conference is that education must be child- or learner-centered. The Namibian basic education must support the actual processes of individual learning, rather than continue the colonial teacher-centered Bantu education, with an emphasis on control, rigid discipline, parrot-like learning, and negative assessment of principles.

Hon. Sam Nujoma 1991

It is now becoming clear that the beginning of the new 'independent' historical epoch would not turn out to be as anticipated by SWAPO during exile conditions and in the depths of the armed struggle. Political events developed instead to accommodate the relationship of conditioned "dependency" explored in the theoretical analysis of Samoff and others. Expectations of a thoroughly new revolutionary education capable of moulding the 'new man' as reflected in the earlier *Programmes* and speeches of S. Nujoma had to be scaled down considerably and even abandoned, ostensibly to appease white investors and the liberal concerns of transnational business interests. They in turn had to concede to the "irrationality" of maintaining ultra-racialist *apartheid* conditions in the impending 'New World Order' of expanding and 'globalized' market democracies. The Western nations on their part started counselling moderation to SWAPO while "insisting that the South African Government should show itself willing to make concessions to the Namibian people" (Innes 1979: 57) while this option was still possible. The dynamics of what Fanon once referred to as "flag independence" were in motion. The wider process is worth highlighting as it incorporates dramatic policy shifts in SWAPO's educational policies.

In the face of armed insurrection, by the onset of the 1970's South Africa and international capital had no other rational options acceptable to the mass of nationalist Namibians and the logic of accumulation in the region except to negotiate with SWAPO. Under the pressure of the armed struggle and transnational economic realism, the "Contact

Group" rightly calculated that South Africa would "be convinced that the advantages of a Namibian settlement would outweigh what it perceives as the risks involved" (Katjavivi: 130) in the long-run. Widespread infrastructural damages could be avoided and 'moderation' counselled in the present context. The international atmosphere and pace of negotiations were conducted under the aegis of Reagan's Southern African doctrine of "constructive engagement" and increasing US involvement in the entire region.

The subsequent 'democratic' and multiparty transition was acrimoniously negotiated in the democratic front and fought 'on the ground' as it were. South African special terrorist units tried to dissuade Namibians from supporting the nationalist "terrorists" while SWAPO's armed struggle became relentless and more focussed. Under considerable international 'diplomatic pressures' from the industrialized West, which had constituted itself as the "Contact Group" to mediate Namibia's formal independence from South Africa's apartheid domination, the whole process came under intense multilateral scrutiny. A combination of forces and considerations were obviously at work but ultimately the negotiated settlement's fundamental process "was designed to assure political access for the region's Black population while protecting the political status and welfare of the White population" (Muskin:1993). Toward the end of the decade, a UN appointed 'transitional' administration was involved in protecting and monitoring the handover of power to SWAPO while assuring the privileged status of the colonizing white population remain undiminished.

Obviously a "transitional state" where the major means of production and exchange of the nation, including the structure of schooling, are to be owned and controlled by the 'people's state' in the manner of post-liberation Mozambique (Samoff/Carnoy:1991) was successfully aborted during this lengthy process of negotiation whose details are not necessary here. Emphasis began to be placed on creating a "non-racial, non-ethnic and non-sexist" multi-party democratic state which gradually replaced all demands for a revolutionary socialist society based on a radical redistribution of resources. In the most

important issues concerning the definition of knowledge and learning, the sources still remained metropole-centered. In the process, the crucial issue of educational access for blacks or "the disadvantaged sector of our society" in the pluralist vocabulary of the new policy Directives (1990:2) began to be framed with 'accommodating pragmatism' reflecting the economic and political interests and arrangements founded on *apartheid.*

This is the contradictory expression of a revolutionary process whose stated priorities and objectives began to noticeably transform toward the end of the 1980's. Liberal democratic language and vocabulary became pervasive in policy statements, substituting the 'Marxist' ideological objectives and orthodoxies SWAPO had cultivated during the bitter liberation struggle. This was apparently SWAPO's response and acknowledgement of the epochal end of the Cold War crystallized fully in the wake of the Soviet collapse throughout Eastern Europe. Unmistakably this overall policy shift has brought considerable international attention, co-operation and resources presently serving to support SWAPO's articulation of its new educational strategies and liberal-democratic ideals. We might say the end of the decade also marks the period when SWAPO's nationalism was effectively "coopted" by advancing Pax Americana in Southern Africa.

Still in exile, as late as July 1987 SWAPO was elaborating new curriculum on educating Namibians toward forming a free, self-reliant and classless society which advances the liberation struggle (see *Rationale* and *Basic Aim* sections for Loudima...). This Provisional Guiding Curriculum, prepared by SWAPO and The Namibian Association of Norway, included a great deal of the revolutionary ideals and principles SWAPO held dear during the armed struggle. At this relatively late period for instance, it proclaimed the long range aim of Namibian schools as providing the country "with an educated generation of youth who will help to develop Namibia into a classless society which caters to the needs of its population" (July, 1987: 5). In the same curriculum proposal which was designed to serve as "a good basis for secondary school curriculum reform in a new Namibia", the methods of teaching language and other subjects "must explicitly promote

attitudes and values appropriate to a non-exploitative, non-oppressive, classless society" (July,1987: 12).

Such ideals and pedagogical objectives had all but disappeared by the end of the decade when the leadership acknowledged the existing world order and enshrined the universality "democracy equity and social justice" as central tenets of SWAPO's political culture and objectives. Class struggle gave way to class harmony/conciliation, imperialism gave way to inter-dependence and armed struggle gave way to 'nation-building' and co-operation among international institutions and governments. Further into the 1980's, it was evident that SWAPO's general policy and educational guidelines were no longer emphatically "centered" in African necessities for self-reliance and indigenous cultural goals but became more and more solicitous to the "capitalist knowledge hierarchy" (Carnoy/ Samoff:1991) of the metropole. Soon SWAPO's entire policy orientation began to be fashioned in line with the universalist assumptions and definitions couched in the UN Charter of Rights. The general understanding and administration of education reform for post-apartheid Namibia began to be articulated along the lines of making education available to everyone as a "right" and as stressed by the World Bank, UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF and so on, i.e. the "financial/intellectual complex" of the Western alliance.

By the end of the 1980's SWAPO was disavowing its revolutionary objectives to collectivise and 'nationalize' the state apparatus toward socialism altogether, and was well on the way to articulating a new definition of learning/knowledge and curriculum designs based on pragmatic accommodation with advanced Western countries, transnational market/capital flows and dominant-hegemonic institutions that consider the problems of educational reform as a planetary socio-cultural project of human rights attainable within the framework and logic of Jomtien's 'Action Plan' consensus.[40]

---

[40]In his article "The Intellectual Financial Complex of Foreign Aid" 1991 J. Samoff had suggested *a propos* Jomtien that "a recent major international conference, little known outside the circle of those most directly involved in third world education but likely to be a point of reference, and perhaps legitimacy, for many years to come, provides a useful vantage point for probing these interconnections" p 63. It has become both in the case of Namibia.

Whatever the determinant factor in "the final analysis", SWAPO in the course of the 1980's, progressively began to scale down its stridently Marxist revolutionary rhetoric and finally withdrew its radical 'socialist' and self-reliant educational guidelines that had sustained it through exile and armed struggle. The spirit of self-reliance and the drive to abolish "all forms of exploitation" that used to animate the governing ideas behind SWAPO's wider-ranging transformative policy decisions began receding into the background. Without going into the complex relationship that led to the demise of the revolutionary line, it is important to identify that there was a dramatic shift of policy on the 'eve' of independence, as it were.[41] SWAPO's disavowal of the earlier revolutionary perspective "governed by the principles of scientific socialism" as SWAPO's 1976 *Programme of Action* puts it, came in the latter period of the 1980's coinciding with the adoption of liberal or "pragmatic" political strategies and rhetorical adjustments that made the country attractive to the broader imperatives of transnational accumulation sought by the inside "Contact Group" whose economic concerns wield great leverage/influence in the political economy of Namibia and Southern Africa in general. In fact, the interests of one subsidiary of the giant transnational Anglo-American known as The Consolidated Diamond Mines company alone "contributed in mining taxes 40% of South Africa's administrative budget in Namibia" (1991: *Profile*) giving a measure of the power wielded by the joined transnational interests concentrated in the key sectors of mining, agriculture and fishing.

To be sure, the move from a vanguard party in armed struggle, relying on mass consciousness and mass mobilization to a "moderate" nationalist one oriented toward power-sharing and administering the "basic needs" of a sovereign Namibian people developed in the course of the 1980's. SWAPO did not come to power as a revolutionary regime when independence was declared, in any substantive sense of the word. The imperatives of 'conditioned' sovereignty and capital accumulation/legitimation, in the

---

[41]See the Political Programme of the South West Africa People's Organization adopted by the Central committee in August 1976. The Last Colony, 198.

context of sub-Saharan peripheries, inevitably began to define the educational system envisaged by SWAPO in the latter period of the armed struggle and its subsequent disavowal in favor of a UN assisted independence. Under the rubric of "peacekeeping" by 1989 and 1990 a sizable UN-military and police force was responsible for monitoring the political transition from South African domination to that of an independent 'democratic' state. The export dependent economic *status quo* continued to preserve pre-existing internal or white privileges and secure the transnational exploiting rights of capital without the offensive laws of *apartheid.* Namibia thus emerged as an independent multiparty democratic Republic.[42]

Although the exercise of constitutional sovereignty takes different forms in different countries of the region, as a critical point of departure one may assume along with S. Amin that under conditions of "really existing capitalism" and under the prevailing worldwide unequal division of labour "only the central capitalist states are truly sovereign. The countries of the periphery, while they are not reduced to colonial status, they are not really treated as autonomous" (1992:17). This lack of *autonomy* has manifested itself rather well in the post-*Etosha* phase. SWAPO's educational and self-reliant socioeconomic policies, whose ultimate goal envisioned a classless, socialist society gradually metamorphosed into reconciliatory strategies based on the notion of interdependence and reflecting liberal international human rights standards and "consensus" in M'Bow's sense.

During this decade SWAPO grew into a powerful party underscoring "the emptiness of the so-called new dispensation embodied in the DTA's so-called government (Moleah, 1983: 304) which uneasily moved from one political crisis to another in search of effecting an impossible "majority rule" without SWAPO's participation.[43] Buoyed by the independence of Angola, SWAPO began to step up the armed struggle while advancing its

---

[42]Historians and political analysts consider UN activities in Namibia as the first exercise in modern-day i.e., post Cold-War, peacemaking. See for example article on UN 5, 22. 93 (The Globe and Mail).
[43]Innes reports that despite intense efforts by the Western capitalists to involve SWAPO in the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference in 1975, "SWAPO maintained its internal unity and boycotted the conference" (56).

case at the UN and other diplomatic fronts. Reforming apartheid through a Namibian 'third force' proved impossible with Resolution 435 (1978) remaining as the only internationally acceptable option. By attacking Angola South Africa stepped up its brutal terror campaign against the 'terrorist-communist' SWAPO and its Soviet-Cuban allies to compensate for its diplomatic losses. Despite South Africa's violent crusade, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) period had also changed nothing substantial for the majority of Africans nor was it capable, given the apartheid based dispensation of power imposed unilaterally by South African occupation forces and under the leadership of a white leader Dirk Mudge.[44] In other words, apartheid hindrances against the majority blacks remained in place however disguised by complicated constitutional maneuvers.

The Odentaal plan, similarly received little enthusiastic support among the Namibian people, in the assemblies of the UN and internationally. Despite some superficial changes here and there, segregation and gross inequalities at every level of the colonial state hierarchy remained pervasive, manifesting their analogous structures in the educational sphere. Moleah presents an assessment of the so called educational reforms of the period in graphic detail:

> For example it is now held that that there is racially segregated but equal educational opportunity in Namibia. Although schooling is racially segregated, the central government is supposed to pay out R225 a year a child irrespective of race. This is deception: For by means of a financial stratagem, the territories whites ensure that a far bigger slice of the available money cake is spent on their childrens education. Thus, in fact, R1,500 a year is spent on each white child-seven times more than is spent on each black and coloured child. (Quoted, *Rand Daily Mail*, 4. 26. 1982.)

---

[44]The Turnhalle Constitutional Conference refers to a South African organized conference called in the Turnhalle hall in Windhoek 1975-77 ostensibly to draft a constitution to protect minority rights. After SWAPO and other nationalist Namibian denounced this ruse to divide the national resistance to apartheid, the conference's participants refashioned themselves into a political party the DTA which took office in 1978. For more details on the conference and the DTA see Fontana Dictionary of Africa since 1960 by John Grace & John Laffin. 358. Fontana Press 1991.

While the separate and equal imperatives of apartheid remained so did the 7:1 ratio spent on different races and 'Bantu Education' albeit under a different political dispensation and financial sleigh of hand introduced by the Mudge leadership. The net result of this failed Turnhalle experiment was that South Africa had to abandon its search for internal settlements and come to terms with SWAPO demand for a 'pragmatic' form of decolonization complete with South African currency and customs union.

Education could hardly be considered a democratizing force under such persistent inequalities, and only SWAPO articulated an alternative programme based on the struggle of national liberation against colonialism and apartheid. During this period of struggle SWAPO maintained its vanguard role and legitimacy intact, surging in popularity among the masses as the sole representative of the Namibian people at the UN, OAU and among the 'Contact Group'. The struggle was protracted and complex with international linkages and doctrines involved. In the final analysis, whatever subterfuge and manipulation South Africa attempted was demonstrably offset by SWAPO's democratic victory at the polls, which gave it forty-four of the seventy-two seats in the Constituent Assembly.[45] No longer revolutionary 'rebels/communists' the SWAPO leadership could no longer advance the *reform process* without negotiating with parliamentary opposition groups closely tied to transnational capital and only grudgingly committed to even the mildest of reforms which may increase the political consciousness and wage demands of the masses and thereby threaten the *status quo* of entrenched white privilege. It was under such non-racial and multi-party democratic "compromises" that SWAPO finally succeeded in replacing the South African-controlled apartheid regime. The new 'pragmatism' manifested itself in SWAPO's willingness to accept notions of a 'mixed economy' and respect the interests of all racial groups in the process. The major-practical implications of this 'pragmatism' for the post-apartheid educational reform process will be articulated in the next section.

---

[45]Massive South African sabotage of the election process subsequently revealed itself. In order to prevent a clear SWAPO majority, SA had distributed around $69 million Canadian to anti-SWAPO forces (Globe and Mail 7. 26. 91).

Though constitutionally prevented from securing the two-thirds parliamentary majority necessary to elaborate its own constitutional policies, SWAPO saw itself in a position to initiate what it calls a "the total reform and renewal" of "the organisation, management, supervision, content, methodology, assessment and provision of educational services in a free democratic Namibia" (Educational Reform Directives: 1990) within the new framework of independence and national sovereignty. Recognition of the preeminent role of the post-colonial state in the reform process remains the essential analytical precondition without which all efforts toward understanding the reform process will flounder in a "stateless" vacuum. The analytics of the state expressed in the theoretical section of this inquiry assumes dominance in understanding the nature of the reform process taking place in Namibia today. Henceforth, revolutionary rhetoric is also replaced by conciliatory nationalist sentiments embedded in a sort of "affirmative action" philosophy directed at rehabilitating the victims of apartheid, enshrined in Article 23 of the Constitution (next section).

The change was therefore part of a much broader foreign policy maneuver that was quite literally changing the political and educational philosophy of the leadership at the substantive and managerial level. The decisive move followed extensive research, consultations, discussions and surveys prepared by international organisations (UNDP/ UNESCO/UNICEF), churches, institutions of higher education (WUS/Cambridge/ Warwick, etc.) and scholars (Turner/Adamson, Henderson, Bethel, etc.) who amongst others provided the point of theoretical departure for the broad policy issues highlighted in the new policy directives. The predominantly European and particularly Nordic patterns of external financial flows and advise hitherto directed the education of Namibians in exile also started to shift in favour of the US sphere which has increasingly gained a decisive function in the overall expansion of the post-apartheid national reform process in Namibia. Indeed, the hegemonic international partner credited for 'empowering' SWAPO's participation at this historic international Conference and preparatory meetings for the grand

"consensus" is USA-AID (1991:73), and may serve as a useful fulcrum for exploring the role and function of the massive international interconnections involved in the actual implementation of the reform process in post-apartheid Namibia.

By all knowledgeable accounts the 1991 *Etosha Conference* marks the definitive philosophical and technical turning point in the "approach to education reform that the Government of Namibia wished to implement" (Muskin:7 1993). A gestation period of about three years of intense negotiations may be countenanced. After that however SWAPO began addressing the most important and contentious issues of the reform process in terms of the administrative jargon of "efficiency", "equal opportunities" and curriculum improvement for those who have historically been disadvantaged and so on. The policy Directives of the Republic of Namibia's Ministry of Education and Culture (MEC) puts the genesis and aim of the reform process in a new technical-administrative light and "consensus" vocabulary. Any lingering loyalty to self-reliance was absent in the most important policy directives released after *Etosha* :

> The Basic Education Reform initiative was launched at the Etosha Conference which took place in April this year. The broad aim of the Reform Initiative is promote equal opportunities for schooling, enhance efficiency, and improve the quality of educational provision. The Reform Initiative shall focus on primary school curriculum improvement, the development of learner-friendly and self accessing instructional materials, teacher training and educational research. The Reform initiative shall be a collaborative effort between the Ministry and the Learning Systems Institute of Florida State University (1991: 12).

If there are philosophical echoes of Jomtien and basic tenets of what is known as Progressive education in the West regardless of the reigning structures of economic inequalities and peripheral exploitation, this was certainly not entirely accidental or even coincidental. This policy directive was undoubtedly a self-conscious abandonment of previous revolutionary commitments to an explicitly political and ideological agenda and syllabus which rejected the decisive universality of Western capitalism and sought to

explore "different ideological systems... different forms of social production and their corresponding political systems, class organisations and class struggle" (Provisional Guiding Curriculum For Loudima Secondary Technical School (1987:133) at the earliest secondary level. By 1990 the Education Reform Directive expressed universalist goals for the reform agenda as striving to achieve for Namibia what J. A. Comenius of antiquity aspired for humanity. As presented in the Directive, "Our wish is that all men should be educated fully to full humanity; not only one individual, nor a few nor even many, but all men together and singly, young and old... so that that the whole of the human race may be educated..." (1990: 2). Such restatements of some basic principles of international human rights became *de rigeur* expressing irreversible shifts in the substantive content of SWAPO's position during the latter part of negotiations for sovereignty.

Clearly this represented a radical abnegation of past principles and practices as well as a solicitous concession/adjustment to the reigning paradigm institutionalized in hegemonic liberal-capitalist industrialized societies and world-systemic agencies. The universalist rhetorics of the epoch finally displaced the *Loudima* syllabus where students were expected "to struggle for national liberation" as a historical process with teaching aids that include "Marxist philosophies" (1987: 134) to encourage the promotion of "different ideological systems with reference to notions of justice, equality, social progress, democracy etc" and foster attitudes for "critical evaluation..." and the importance of struggle to promote economic development and self-sustained growth which cannot be achieved on humanitarian and compassionate grounds alone given the severity of existing scope of capitalist exploitation sustained in the periphery. With 90% of the traditionally disadvantaged native African producers consuming only 12.8% of the gross domestic product (GDP) while the 10% entrenched settler Europeans appropriate 81.5% of the GDP (*Profile*) along exploitative 'classical' colonial lines, tending to the "universal, indivisible and inalienable" human-rights removes all other possible alternative modes of social organization and knowledge out of consideration.

Based on such a diagnosis, *post-Etosha* initiatives spoke of a 'rational' guiding policy of national reconciliation, of reconciling conflicting interests, restructuring the public Service, instituting a unifying system of educational administration/management and control according to the requirements of "the three pillars of Namibian Constitution: Unity, Liberty, and Justice (1991:3) and in co-operation with international 'donor' bilateral/multilateral agencies and non-government organizations or so called NGO's.[46] The emphasis was on ensuring 'nation-building' and the new policy Directives borrowed freely from the contemporary world-systemic discourses of education, articulated in terms of humanistic concepts and language formations embodied deep in the "Intellectual-Financial Complex of Foreign Aid" (Samoff:1991) and Western academic institutions, which produce and transmit the knowledge and conceptual apparatus articulated at the Jomtien proceedings and its "seminal Declaration and Framework for action" which the Directive reproduced at length already in 1990. The reform's focus and implicit philosophy propounded is most consciously tied to the Jomtien 'Action Plan': "The satisfaction of basic needs (basic learning needs) empowers individuals in any society and confers upon them a responsibility..." (p.38).

What this reiteration of principles amounts to is in fact a new policy departure stated and restated as guiding directives for understanding the values and principles post-apartheid reform process. The degree of consensus between the Jomtien resolutions and the process of reform in Namibia might be approached from the nearly identical perspective offered in the series of policy discussion papers which discuss and outline "policy evolution, direction and implications and parameters for implementation" according to the Forward of the landmark 1990 Directive entitled Change With Continuity. In this particular Directive, the Jomtien spirit of change, and the purpose of Namibia's national reform and "goal of

---

[46]This is a ubiquitous term in international relations. A number of humanitarian based relief agencies and aid organizations like to be called "non-government organizations". Since most of these so-called NGO's receive most of their funds (up to 60%) and operating budgets from the states of the hegemonic-centers, this name does not fully account for most of their activities.

renewal" are philosophically indistinguishable. In other words, they depart from similar humanistic-universalistic positions and take the "existing patterns of economic, political and social organization as givens" (Samoff) no longer challenging the knowledge/power and material interests that sustain them. The application of Jomtien's language and noble goals in the national context will inevitably confront the fundamental exploitative and hierarchical 'dependency' found in the specific historical-structural framework of the colonized state which is not truly sovereign in Amin's sense above. Stated otherwise, in the prevailing global imbalance af power/wealth, the peripheral capitalist 'conditioned' (Samoff/Carnoy) states of sub-Sahara Africa have demonstrated limited impact, capacity and 'autonomy' to reconstruct (reform) the educational terrain and reorient the particular socioeconomic contradictions which had festered during the course of colonialism.

Chapter 8

Post-Coloniality:

A Conditioned Education For All Agenda

It was right to struggle against the old school, but reforming it was not so simple as it seemed. The problem was not one of model curricula but of men, and not just of the men who are actually teachers themselves but of the entire social complex which they express.

Gramsci

Restated for purposes of discussing this chapter the following theoretical context emerges. Throughout the inquiry, world-wide contradictions of 'really existing capitalism' have been considered rather *immanent* in the politics of national policy-making everywhere, since in Franks words "political power and policy is locally, nationally or at most imperially confined; but it is up against *world-wide* economic forces..." (1992:41 - emphasis original). A more contemporary world-systemic theoretical understanding of the state along these global lines is crucial to sharpen our perspective on the proposed research endeavor at this point (post-coloniality). Reform processes are no longer nationally restricted in their workings. More emphatically stated "For all regimes, democratic and non-democratic alike, it is dependence within the global system which establishes the framework for policy and political practice" (Ibid.: 69). It is worth restating Namibia's current dependencies within the global system of "existing capitalism" to better draw out the character of its post-colonial dependencies which establish the framework for structuring/implementing post-apartheid educational policies. This theoretical restatement is necessary to more effectively define the contemporary political economic context where Namibia's recommended Basic Education reform policy is taking hold.

Since the mandated parliamentary term of SWAPO extends up to 1996, speculations beyond this period are not worth considering here. The focus of analysis will

be structured around what SWAPO has identified as the "critical goals" of the reform which are embodied in notions of "promotion of equal access to learning; improving efficiency in education; and enhancing the quality of learning" (1991:4). The overriding assumptions and principles of the reform process echo the Jomtien World Conference on Education for All (1990) declarations featured prominently as the center-piece of the national educational reform's Directives published by the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Republic. Article 20, of the Constitution, sets the tone for the redefinition of the whole educational agenda by proclaiming that "all persons shall have the right to education" which shall be compulsory and "free of charge" at the primary level.[47] Leaving aside the question of *rights* and *justice* for the moment, the reform concentrates on promoting efficiency in basic education and post-apartheid schools

Elaborating further on the concept of Basic Education, the constitution of the Republic "prescribes that compulsory and free education should be provided at Primary level or up to the age 16" (1991/92:54) and proceeds to articulate notions of enhancing access and overall operation of what is known as the extended Basic Education Cycle adopted as national policy. Comprising the Primary and Junior Secondary levels, what is known as the Basic Education Cycle in Namibia will be a ten year programme after which successful candidates receive the National Basic Education Certificate. Certification is in English. The English tongue has become the medium of national unity and graduation and according to the schedule, phasing-in will begin in 1993 (1991:24). It is the post-apartheid state's chosen major language or 'medium' of cultural transmission and the key to success for educated Namibians. The overall framework of the reform policy is reactive to the world 'consensus', and for the most part offers a conditioned restatement of the 'basic education for all' theme, exhaustively elaborated at *Jomtien*. To meet the *critical goals*, as one of the state's policy directives announces "international networking on bilateral,

---

[47]The policy directive of the post-apartheid state reiterates "that general education will be free in terms of tuition, books and classroom consumables" (1991. Nov. p. 33).

multilateral and NGO levels is being cultivated" (1991:73). This strategy supposedly generates the efficiency necessary for the reform's measures to succeed.

A more complete analysis of post-colonial dependency in 'sovereign' Namibia is necessary to come to grips with how the post-apartheid state implements the reform's commitments centered on promoting equal opportunities for schooling between the races/ethnic groups, enhancing efficiency and improving the quality of educational provision.[48] The following discussion will attempt to provide an overall account of their reciprocal dynamics, by emphasizing the latter two issues for the moment.

The theoretical guidelines, plans of action and educational doctrines informing national policy have been consciously adopted from the Jomtien international 'consensus' inaugurated on 9 March 1990 which offers, "Countries that require external assistance to meet the basic learning needs of their people can use the resource assessment and plan of action as a basis for discussion with their international partners and for coordinating external funding" (p. 30). *Jomtien* thus holds out promises for realizing the *critical goals* of Namibia's reform through multilateral and bilateral international action, otherwise known as *partnership* in the depoliticized language of development discourse. The post-apartheid state has availed itself of this opportunity rather well. As indicated however, the reforms processes cannot transcend the realities of specific global power-fields and configurations reproduced throughout the region and within each national formation.

International involvement in Namibia's educational reform is more than merely advisory and reaches into all policy decisions (Appendix). For example, US involvement is rather pronounced at the primary level, considered the 'backbone' of the education system in Namibia, and crucial to the research and development dimensions associated with the entire Basic Education Cycle, where some 80% of Namibia's students or 'learners' are involved. It is also crucial to sustaining teacher-training programmes. The Namibian state

---

[48]According to the *Basic Education Reform* Initiative launched at Etosha Conference, these constitute the broad aim of the Reform Initiative (1991:25).

considers this cycle as the "lynch-pin to individual growth and development. . . the basis for further learning and development" (1991:12) as specified by the Jomtien "World Conference on Education for All" policy guidelines and resolutions. Under these circumstances, one can assume that the effectiveness and efficiency of the Primary Cycle at least, will depend on the nature and extent of cooperation and collaboration or 'mutual interaction' between the Namibian state and the relevant metropolitan sponsors and funding agencies where under conditions of 'late capitalism', "research and funding constitute control" (1992: 64) bearing assumptions and expectations as stressed by Samoff and others.

The post-apartheid state's efforts at 'addressing' these fundamental educational issues are best explored within the world historical-structural context of accumulation and dominance/subordination, conceived as the dominant socioeconomic reality of the region throughout the span of this study. From the historical point of view, hitherto attempted processes of universalizing primary education in sub-Saharan Africa have invariably fallen hostage to the contradictory power-knowledge gridlock articulating the Euro-centered global economy and the much-theorized (North) center-periphery (South) inequalities expressed within it. It should be remembered that all the major internationally attended (IMF/ IBRD/ UNESCO) forums of the 1960's expressed the earliest drives toward stipulating "basic need" educational guidelines for the Third World by declaring ambitious/quantitative targets for achieving compulsory, free and universal "Basic Education for All by the year 2000" as was commonly projected. These conferences had signalled a concerted 'multilateral' global drive to combat the plague of illiteracy and its manifold constraining implications on human possibilities everywhere. Unfortunately, the achievement rates so far have been less than convincing, while the expected contributions of this particular educational strategy to socioeconomic development remain illusive. From the point of view of critical discussions on African education Samoff confirms "failures

abound, success stories are scarce, and available resources are scarcer still" (Samoff:1992: 64).

It had also been four decades since the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* had affirmed everyone's 'right to education' as a basic inalienable human right. Such powerful humanitarian appeals to universality and stirring calls for human rights have accompanied all pronouncements on this subject ever since. Despite all interventions/interdictions however, well-known educational 'pyramids' and unequal distributional patterns of income and resources historically imposed under the aegis of colonial domination and by coercive means, have proved rather stubborn imperial inheritances to dislodge. In the 1970's, repeated references to the overall educational 'crisis' prevailing in sub-Sahara Africa had become commonplace in the literature. There is however, considerably less agreement when it comes to analysing the precise sociological determinants/sources of this perceived 'crisis'. Given this contentious history of basic educational reform in the continent, how precisely does the political leadership in Namibia intend to realize these *critical* concerns in the context of more or less similar historical-national trajectory of international subordination and ongoing internal dynamics of post-colonial economic inequalities, racial stratification and the newly-found imperatives of nationhood? Namibia's Basic Reform Initiative is also strongly motivated by compensatory/remedial considerations and in the process aims to "wipe out or considerably reduce illiteracy by the year 2000" (1991:40). How realistic is this educational strategy?

With the collapse of the Cold War, the international situation is assumed to have changed "towards greater cooperation between nations" enabling the free-flow of knowledge and information as the World Conference describes its *raison d'etre*. This gesture is not merely altruistic nor borne from humanitarian concerns. The educational systems of independent sub-Sahara Africa remain closely tied to the *modus operandi* of international capitalism which ascribes a special strategic importance to the high productivity mineral wealth and resources of the Southern area which O'Brien suggests

occupy a "reserve position in international capitalist strategy" (1973: 48). The relevant population of the so-called modern-export sector, representing over half the labour force of Namibia is as ever subsisting as cheap labour reserves in 'Bantustans'. This abysmal existence is what ultimately reproduces the African wage-earner and his family with all this implies for huge corporate "returns on investment" accrued from the region. Among the high-output colonies of Southern Africa, in the words of Green and Kiljunen Namibia emerged as the last colony and "application of *mise en valeur* territorial development as a significant contribution to the economy of the metropole" (1981:30). Veiled or otherwise, the patterns of the Southern African territorial *mode of production* and its racially-based exploitative articulations internally and with the world economy at large still prevail, only without the apartheid legal superstructure. In this limited sense only, have the racial division of apartheid's educational provisions historically supportive of the colonial division of labour been abolished, setting the stage for the new equity-efficiency minded policies expressed in Education Reform Directives: 1990 to take effect. The reform process is in its most initial phase, and capable of revealing the foundational ideas and institutions, modes of legitimation and overall changes that propel it towards what it calls total reform and renewal. Thus, the words of the guiding 1990 policy directive of MUC:

> The Educational Reform Directive should be understood as a first tentative step in the long march towards the total reform and renewal of the organization, management, supervision, content, methodology, assessment and the provision of educational services in a free democratic Namibia...In the meantime, the ministry has been busy establishing a network of collaboration nationally and internationally. As a result of this, international inputs and private domestic resources are being galvanized to augment the public resources to foster the reform process.

Amongst other things, this reasoning adequately defines the multilateral context of Namibia's post-coloniality upon whose privileged co-operation much of the reform process

is predicated.[49] The important role of Western organizational/managerial know-how and knowledge as 'inputs' is axiomatic and critical to the viability of the whole reform process. Implicit in this orientation is also a certain solution to the perceived educational imbalances/inequalities inherited in Namibia. In parallel, the *Jomtien* resolutions promise "serious attention to improving the efficiency of educational resources and programmes [which] will not only produce more, it can also expect to attract new resources" (2). In other words, international support (personnel,funding etc.) toward the implementation of conditioned basic education agenda in the 1990's appears to be firmly underway. Whose knowledge matters in the *content and provision* of the processes must also be held to critical scrutiny contextually.

In contrast to other African countries who more or less subscribe to this consensual scheme, Namibia has suffered what Katjavivi calls a "unique form of domination" i.e. subjection to the racialist territorial apartheid and derivative 'Bantu Education' policies of South Africa, which enters into the political equation of post coloniality and further complicates the reform process in the critical sphere of promoting equality of opportunities and access. Aside from the scarcity of resources, entrenched racism still prevails as a significant variable in the post-colonial dynamics. As the national policy directive sees it "Racism, overt and covert, remains a serious hindrance to genuine integration of the former Administration of White schools" (1991:3). The indigenous African population, segmented along race and ethnicity, has been systematically excluded and geographically garrisoned by International capital's and South Africa's "accumulative" strategies whose geo-strategic and economic dominance is still expressed in the continued occupation of Namibia's (Walvis Bay) only deep water access to international commerce by South African forces. This act reinforces the ongoing neo-colonial control over Namibia's international trade and prices despite political independence and all the privileges of national sovereignty. The

---

[49]The rationale and pattern of 'classic' extractive capitalism is primarily postulated upon guaranteeing the supplies of raw materials and outlets in (unequal) exchange of manufactured commodities, including research and knowledge to the underdeveloped world.

Jomtien perspective in therefore faced with different sorts of disparities and arrangement of social forces here. The dynamics of racial antagonisms invade society, including the educational systems and the lived condition of all involved in this internationally sponsored reform and learning process.

New concepts have emerged from the world-system school to express new directions of thought on this subject and the emphasis is on articulating the cultural vacuum or 'voiceless' realities of the marginalized peripheries along the lines suggested by contemporary *cultural theory* discourses. Explicitly or implicitly, their point of departure is rooted in the proposition that multilateral world-systemic Financial-Intellectual Complexes (Samoff's term) like the IMF and the World Bank can effectively reproduce and legitimize the existing socioeconomic and imperialist reality in the sphere of knowledge manufacturing, pedagogies and overall administration of ideas/culture despite formal political independence. In other words, specialized world systems institutions and their accumulated research findings (knowledge apparatus) have come to wield extraordinary force in defining international educational practices and curriculum discourse. Under these circumstances, sovereignty in Third or Fourth World societies appears to be more symbolic than substantive.

In a recent article, Frank clearly illustrates the changed underlying political economic positions and cultural dilemma of these subordinated regions in the "New World Order" and offers the opinion that "many of the states of the region now face the serious prospect, like Africa of being marginalized out of the (admittedly exploitative) international division of labour. Their natural resources have been squeezed dry for the benefit of industrial development further north, and now the regions and the peoples can be discarded" (1992:43) particularly unless they succumb to the universalizing economic and cultural dictates of collaborating 'donor' nations enforcing "the interests of the dominant capitalist powers in the North [who] control World Bank policy." Consequently, the

pressures on the maginalized nation's cultural production and school systems to adapt are severe. As Guy Gran underlines the 'donors' privileged powers

> in organizational terms they are the Bank's mandators. Even those Directors disposed to opposition find that the consensual work process, US hegemony, sheer magnitude of documentation, and the rate of work all serve to preclude either informed or effective opposition most of the time (1986: 279).

The absence of indigenous participation in the 'generation' and control of knowledge that pertains to national problems in the Fourth World is thus highlighted. According to Samoff, such conditions and constraints are more sharply visible in Africa "due to the historically limited ability to participate in research-focussed discussions and challenge their findings" (Samoff:1992:62). From this perspective, "the Jomtien resolutions are but a single example of the privileged position of research, or more accurately, claims about research and its findings, in the discourse on education policy" (1991:61). There is growing support for this kind of analyses today.

Generically referred to as "underdevelopment"[50], at least in the lexicon of critical analysts (Leys/Arrighi/Saul), almost all African formations have been ravaged by decades of recession, neo-colonial mismanagement, ineffective policy remedies, rampant corruption *cum* kleptocracy, tyranny and civil wars whose desperate consequences are evidently beginning to crystallize in detail in the aftermath of the Cold War. Notwithstanding all the 'modernization' and 'developmental' wisdom which traditional academics abroad have harnessed to the *business of development* since the late 1940's, the Third World remains more volatile, illiterate and hungrier than ever before exposing the inherent superficiality of the dominant paradigm or what Apple refers to "assemblage of knowledge" and overall policy practices advanced to alleviate the enduring problems of global poverty. This despite vast potential resources/knowledge base and accumulated wealth of evidence

---

[50]Colin Leys's Underdevelopment in Kenya 1975, was one of the first works to systematically explore the details of this process of underdevelopment in an African social formation. The sub-title of the work is entitled *The political Economy of Neo-Colonialism 1964-1971.*

available to governments and these 'world-system agencies' like the World Bank, UNESCO, UNICEF, UNDP who are among the chief sponsors of the education for all agenda. Mounting critical evidence in the field of international development, strongly suggests that the modernization or "nation-building" process assumed to proceed fast on the heels of decolonization has all but failed to materialize even vaguely in most of Africa. The imbalances and inefficiencies in the education sphere have been touched on by Coombs/Dumont/Altbach and other specialists in the area.[51] The political economic balance sheet of the last two decades also points ominously in the opposite or regressive direction, towards marginalization, for most of sub-Saharan Africa. A large body of critical literature addresses this underling processes defining the educational experience of the 'learners' around whom the curriculum of the nation needs to be understood.

For the poorest countries of the world dubbed the *Fourth World* the deteriorating fiscal evidence suggests that "the real per capita income of the majority of them is lower today than it was a decade ago."[52] On the other hand the cost and demand for formalized education has began to spiral everywhere. Schooling in Africa claims "a sizable share of public expenditure -about 16% of the total, on average, more than any other government function except general administration,"[53] and is a major user of dwindling resources. This implies that education, consuming slightly more than the average in Namibia (20%) is an expensive commitment and represents one of the most valuable national assets available to the post-colonial states of Africa. How and to what end/purpose this vital resource is being employed is critical to assessing the future of all these societies.[54] Such evidence has

---

[51] Articulated by a UNICEF consultancy team, educational inefficiency in the policy directives is "[characterized] by low achievement rates, high drop out rates and high failure rates" (1991:16).

[52] K. Bacchus. An introductory note on Human Resource Development. p.5.

[53] The World Bank. Ibid., p. 81.

[54] In the language of the policy directive "Education is an expensive enterprise. The Ministry has become aware of three major issues which need to be addressed if costs are to be contained. These are unit costs, cycle costs and financial control" (Annual Report 1991:2). With reference to the preface, reforming the past is not as simple as it seems in these bureaucratic catchwords which explain nothing about the social environment and so on...

important implications on the reform process and what may be considered appropriate school knowledge.

Significantly, the educational facilities in post-colonial Africa are still suffering under the cumulative burden of inefficient imperial institutions, school systems and curricula directives. According to the UN's annual report released at the eighth ***United Nations Trade and Development*** conference, the list of the so called poorest countries has almost doubled from "24 nations two decades ago to 47 today", while the unequal distribution of income or the so called *wage gap* was in fact widening within countries and among the rich and poor countries of the world-system. This pattern expresses the pervasive "world polarization" tendencies which S. Amin has identified as "the true historical limit that capitalism cannot transcend" (1992:16) in his writings. In general, trends appear to vindicate the soundness of his prognosis, for the foreseeable future at least. According to the more recent United Nations 1993 Human Development Report, heightened global socioeconomic disparities based on "race, religion and color" in and between both the centers and peripheries is emphasized as the dominant global reality.

While the overall *gap* between the dominant-hegemonic nations and the peripheries or underdeveloped countries continues to widen a new distinction is emerging between those economies with a "creditworthy" service and manufacture infrastructure and those who lack these basic resources and prospects altogether, i.e., euphemistically known as the 'Fourth World' largely concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa. Annual decline in real per capita income and patterns of stagnation, educational/enrollment declines and regime instabilities have all become standard features of the post-colonial sub-Saharan Fourth World experience magnifying what J. Saul once referred to as "perverse growth" and "the pattern of strengthening external linkages at the expense of internal linkages" (1973: 81) or what constitutes neo-colonialism in simple terms. This entire dynamics is best captured in the phenomenon of advanced 'extraversion' in the production, distribution and control of knowledge-research related to the larger structures of global inequalities in resources and

power. Expressed in the cultural-knowledge sphere, the World Bank and other exogenous intellectual/financial forces of transnational 'collaboration' tend to more and more wield the necessary resources and define the parameters of possible policy discourse and ideological apparatus in the least "creditworthy" peripheries.

Political independence in Africa has evidently not resulted in economic development or in cultural/intellectual independence but was replaced by advanced (neocolonial) forms of subjection tied to the reigning modes of Western-manufactured knowledge/information industry and its Eurocentric ideological and "hegemonic' spheres of domination, graphically illustrated in Najib Akesbi's simple aphorism that "the country ends up producing too much of what it doesn't consume, and consuming too much of what it doesn't produce".[55] Likewise in the pattern of non-production and consumption of knowledge/research manifested in the post-colonial education systems and curricular guidelines. Dependent on the knowledge/information forms produced by the beneficiaries of the ongoing net capital outflow and patterns of "unequal exchange" historically established, the Western educated and dependent Fourth world elite of the 'conditioned' capitalist countries characteristically "faces the West not as masters of their own fate but as apprentices in search of models" to emulate (Fanon:1960). The Fourth world is at the consumption cycle of this profitable industry of knowledge production otherwise known as the *development business*. In search of these illusive 'models' to cope with their problems however, they have imported more inappropriate solutions and constructed monumental "caricatures" of those in the developed societies. The centralized education bureaucracies are the embodiments of these contradictions. It has been proposed that the convergence between metropolitan and local neo-colonial education systems has often grown greater during the post-colonial period (Foster *et. al.*). This assertion needs to be qualified in light of the critical theoretical investigation pursued here.

---

[55]S. George. Ibid., p. 78.

It is really to the very few at the dominant-privileged helm that *convergence* really applies. As Samoff and Carnoy have shown, the ultimate goal of such peripheral education systems is to "find the 3 or 4 percent of University graduates who will compete internationally with their correspondent cadres in the capitalist metropoles" (1990:87). It is to appease their class interests that entire formalized education systems of the peripheries tend to be structured and directed. Many have correctly argued that priorities have been misplaced from the start (Dumont:1971). Given that a great majority (80%) of the populations concerned are rural, well below the poverty line and at various levels of malnutrition and without access to even more basic needs (clean water and shelter) education must respond differently to the peripheral contradictions imposed upon it.

Unfortunately however, as Samoff and Carnoy argue the perception of education as a symbol of mobility is even more heightened in conditioned societies, since it is "exaggerated by greater material and political inequalities" (1990:65). At any rate, public education proceeded to expand radically and tangentially setting off multiple contradictions to which post-colonial regimes had to variously respond. This Human Capital theory-minded policy has been identified as responsible for unleashing the massive educational expansion and 'imbalances' of global proportions (Bacchus) in the 1960's and throughout the 1970's.

The uncontrolled expansion of formal/informal educational opportunities soon coalesce with other problems tied to the institutional-structural and 'scarcity' related deformations imposed by 'extraversion' and the limited accumulative capacity of the indigenous state. It did not take very long before the ever-rising "social demand for education" began to overwhelm the diminishing material and ideological resources at the disposal of the capitalist 'conditioned' and increasingly repressive regimes of the Sub-Saharan peripheries. Concerns about the 'educated unemployed', 'underemployed' and so on began to be expounded in the literature. It also became obvious to economists of the 1980's that the economic returns, or more technically 'rates of return' to this 'recurring

expenditure' on education had not proved quite as warranted as expressed in the "ephemeral understandings" characteristic of the early 1960's. Already in the late sixties, the inherited and formalized colonial education systems of the peripheries were entering a period of advancing irrelevance/inappropriateness/ineffectiveness, according to the relevant 'experts'. By the 1980's internationally coordinated 'adjustment' measures had to be thought out to reshape the educational agenda in most of Africa. Notions of educational reform based on humanitarian appeals and 'basic needs' philosophy began to be revived as the dominant discourse on education and social change. The 'crisis' phenomena expressed in the educational systems is thus related to a series of other non-educational 'crisis' tendencies inherent in the structural links and conditions binding the most advanced European countries of the West to the colonially-structured peripheries.

According to Ngugi, for instance, due to the oppressive social/racial domination embodied in the process of cultural/knowledge production and transmission, education and other 'creative' processes as a whole are equally "conditioned by historical social forces and pressures" of capital accumulation and as such, knowledge and literature, in particular, "cannot elect to stand above or to transcend economics, politics, class, race issues ... because those very burning issues with which it deals take place within an economic, political, class and race context." depending on the colonial policies of the powers and the degree of resistance waged by the dominated people (NWT:55).

On the subject of education and literacy, the French social critique J. Ellul has once suggested that "the fact of knowing how to read is nothing, the whole point is knowing what to read."[56] Similarly, despite their substantial achievements in expanding the levels of 'literacy' among the population, the newly 'independent' African states in fact continued investing in what was essentially a '"colonising" and elitist educational system which perpetuates their overall subordination to the international capitalist system and knowledge production hierarchy. Imported knowledge merely binds them closer to the dictates of the

---

[56]Jacques Ellul. Critique of the New Commonplaces. 1968. p 27

world market and its unequal trade exchange relations while marginalizing them further at the level of relations of production and specialization. The quantitative increases in "human capital", that is, education and training in and of themselves, could not transform the exploitative structures of the pervasive hierarchisation/subordination which has historically operated at every level of the "conditioned" underdeveloped social formation: political, ideological, cultural and the entire educational and knowledge producing apparatus of the state. The most important implications of this entrenched extroversion and dependency is, for our purposes, centered around the issues of the "conscious marginalization of people" and their indigenous knowledge base which "extends in every area of both substance and work process" (Gran:282). This process has finally instigated a change of direction in international education research towards the Basic Education initiative of the late 1980's. In Samoff's opinion, the new points of departure are lacking in political economic knowledge "of the affected district or region, or even country" to justify their claims. Thus: "the assertion that investment in primary education yields a greater return than spending on higher education provides a relatively clear guide to action [while] a conditional and situational specific does not." (1992:65). In other words, there is no evidence that the Basic Education approach is capable of moving Namibia forward as suggested.

In the present era this policy guideline is expressed in the process of administering basic educational reforms in the impoverished peripheries where the parameters of dialogue, according to Gran, are unilaterally delimited by world-systemic multinationals and central-hegemonic states where "power is distributed in proportion to the size of financial contributions" (Ibid.:278). Institutions like the World Bank, IMF, UNESCO put heavy emphases on interests/ideas and conditions emanating in the industrialized world. The powerless and exploited, for obvious reasons, have no input into the workings of this worldwide process of cultural manufacturing and rationalization, which in its concerted drive towards "universal rationalization, industrial progress and global expansion of

markets" threatens to "ruthlessly expunge particular or local or national histories" (Connor: 1991:231) of the subjugated nations and races. This is the problematic explored in depth in Fanon's earlier discourse on the dialectics of colonizer and the colonized. Education policies and knowledge about Africans and Arabs were forged out of a history of racial subjugation. The primary concern of this discourse is to demystify the enduring ideological manifestations of E. Said's *Orientalism* presently articulated within the multilateral 'umbrella' of Western hegemony and 'pluralist', liberal-democratic rhetoric.[57]

It is precisely the West's ongoing technological/hegemonic predominance over the "others" that still gives Said's Orientalism such vigor and redoubtable durability in contemporary reality, whether expressed in its practical-casual language or scholarly-academic form. There is widespread consensus that the phenomenon of *Orientalism* derives its strength from its indissoluble techno-material and cultural manifestations of domination expressed throughout the 'enabling socio-economic and political institutions' of Imperialism and neocolonialism. The institutions of education and the immense apparatus of the knowledge-research and cultural industry, have regained their leading position in the overall elaboration of the latest *Orientalist* project. This concerns the production and commodification of more knowledge about the knowledge of Orientals and or Africans by those who control the knowledge producing/distribution institutions associated with the intellectual/financial complex and its education policies.

Even the most preeminent institution in the *development business*, the World Bank in its 1988 Report entitled, *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa. Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion* has identified a 'crisis' in the continent and called for "profound changes in educational policies". Chief among the recommendations is a

---

[57]What Said calls *Orientalism* has a long tradition in Euroamerican intellectual tradition and is manifested in disciplines, classrooms, curriculum etc. wherever the Occident exercises cultural strength, globally speaking. Being generated out of imperial strength its expansion coincides exactly "with the period of unparalleled European expansion; from 1815 to 1914 European colonial domination expanded from 35 percent of the earth's surface to about 85 percent of it. Every continent was affected, none more so than Africa and Asia. See chapter, "The Scope of Orientalism," p. 41.

strategy of selective expansion through renewed emphasis on *adjusting* and *revitalizing* primary education. Notions of 'basic' educational reforms and principles of universality based on humanitarian appeals and basic needs philosophy had began to pervade the discourse and lexicon of international education culminating in the celebrated *Jomtien* agenda. In the process world-system political economists have suggested the World Bank and IMF have emerged as principal world-systems institutions financing/articulating the bureaucratic-techocratic rationality and policy directives perceived as appropriate to this revitalization scheme formulated for sub-Saharan Africa.

In this way, not only has the World Bank/IMF complex evolved into the largest foreign 'donor' and dominant "external voice in African economic policy-making" but it remains the official choice and overall policy guide (Gran: 275-76) and mentor for conditioned Third World states, despite being deeply implicated in the authorship of the current development 'crisis' or impasse. From this point of view, in a world where higher income is strongly associated with post-primary education, the *revitalisation-expansion* exercise appears to limit mass expectations of mobility and reserve higher education for the ruling elite strata of the Fourth World which can afford its rising costs in metropolitan centers. After all is said and done, the World Bank and associated world-systemic bureaucratic organizations like the IMF/UNESCO/UNDP all support and encourage the strategy of "export-led growth based on primary products" (Gran: 279) and adopt/ encourage educational policies which sustain this extractive capitalism and its privileged position overseas. This line of thought becomes important in discerning the rationalizations and assumptions that raise basic education as a priority agenda for 'development', economic growth and 'nation building' in the peripheries. For most Africans this antidote to poverty and illiteracy, without redistribution of wealth and an alternative strategy for economic development, sidesteps addressing the serious tensions bedeviling the peripheries while reinforcing dependency.

It must be recognized that putting into practice the present nationwide reform program of Namibia autonomously or without the present level of support 'input' from international technical assistance/funding sources would be impossible for various reasons. More than just financially constrained from articulating this plan of action, "left to its own expertise" according to Muskin "the MEC staff would likely be spread so thinly that it would be greatly strained just to operate the existing system let alone to design and execute a nationwide reform" (Muskin:1933:3). It also lacks the adequate supply of relevant research/knowledge to execute the Jomtien resolutions, which have become the principal determinants of post-apartheid educational policies.

Infrastructurally the same transnational exploitative relations and prospects broadly delineated for post-independence Africa obtain in Namibia as well, if not more acutely race-bound. In the rural areas of the country the teacher/pupil ratio averages 1:50 as opposed to as low as 1:7 for whites while dilapidated shacks without equipment and basic text books and questionably certified teachers describe the defining characteristic of the inherited education system for Africans (1991:3), "This state of affairs is unacceptable" according to the Broad Policy Directive 1991. In considering this particular social formation, Saunders mentions the significance of systematic European destruction and exhaustion of "the natural resources of the territory" (p. 84), which remains an ongoing concern in Namibia. By way of illustration, Allan Cooper adds "during the last ten years, overexploitation of Namibia's fishery resources have rendered that source of protein commercially extinct and drought and mismanagement have all but destroyed the territory's karakul industry" (p. 84). In the face of persistent drought conditions, this "predatory commercialization" (Bagchi/Amin) of 'other' peoples natural wealth reproduced by international capital has also rendered Namibia's human and material resources acutely vulnerable to 'expiration' (at the current rate of exploitation) in the sense eloquently expressed by Amin/Frank and others. In short, aside from being debilitated by poverty, racism and war, the indigenous workforce as a

whole is not adequately equipped and skilled to adopt and operate the recommended systems of basic education and sustain the present levels of industrial production.[58]

The *Jomtien* consensus emphasizes the overall "preeminent role of teachers as well as other educational personnel in providing quality basic education" (p. 33). Likewise in Namibia, a massive teacher training component is perceived as vital to efficiently initiating the reform process, particularly "in rural areas where teacher training has not been systematized and general education rather erratic" (1991:4). MUC identifies Teacher In-Service Training Programme as a priority which "has to go hand in hand with the development of a teacher Pre-Service Programme. 1992 shall be the year for preparation and development of a Basic Education Teacher Training Programme.[59] Such a programme is to devise a Teacher Training Course for teachers who are going to teach Grades 1-10" (Directive 1991:14). In-service training needs are sponsored by international funding and dependent on educational advisors from UNICEF/UNDP(Directive 1991:11) and other members of the 'network of collaboration' established by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Meanwhile the training package for various regional Education Management cadres "shall be implemented by the international institute of Educational Planning, Paris" (1991:11). There is an overall tendency to view a more efficient education system as a consumer product, best distributed through a ministerial bureaucracy and assisted by international expertise and funding. More still, virtually all the middle and upper cadres of the 'unified' education bureaucracy will be trained at various western sites of learning.

Elaborating on this "basic education for all" theme further, the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia duly obliges the post-colonial State to "provide reasonable facilities to

---

[58]"Learning and teaching conditions in 90% of Namibian schools are unsatisfactory. Many primary school classes in the rural areas are overcrowded and lack basic text books and classroom equipment. Many rural schools are debilitated" for details see Annual Report Of The Ministry of Education And Culture for the year ending 31 December 1991.

[59]The under-qualification of teachers is a real problem in Namibia, particularly since Primary and Basic cycles are in their hands. According to a UNDP report "of the total number of teachers (12, 525 in 1988) only 12 per cent are qualified, i.e., have had four years of tertiary education" see Turner's, Consultancy Report, Education in Namibia, 1990

render effective this right for every resident within Namibia," acknowledging the well-known gap between the formally declared *opportunities* and the concrete possibilities of their *utilitization,* which is critical in the context of an economically impoverished and structurally 'extraverted' African formation. It is common knowledge that guaranteeing equal rights and opportunities does not mean people have the necessary means to access these rights. There is still a great deal of disparity in this area. The state has addressed the technical issue of limited facilities and capacities by embarking on a massive "Rural Physical Facilities Improvement initiative" which attempts to ensure active community involvement and participation in the basic maintenance, security and reorientation of the countries decentralized and 'unified' educational facilities/authorities under construction.

Unification or racial integration is the basic objective of the educational reform process and the state is keenly aware that multiracial 'democratic' elections alone were unable to exorcise the patterns of *apartheid* which evidently persist in the way people behave and think. In a recent informative study entitled the 'Resiliency of the Status Quo' Kleinhaus and Lewis show how the reconfiguration process of the schools in Namibia is threatening the entrenched privileges of the white elites who are vehemently resisting the integration process as an "enemy of the Africaner culture" and are increasingly fleeing to South Africa. In Maltahohe where the phenomenon of "white flight" was taken to extremes, they conclude matter of factly "it was clear the community was not ready for integration" (1993:9).

These conflictual pressures and possible 'legitimation crisis' that may follow in the wake of independence are well recognized by the leadership of Namibia. In obvious reference to this potential, the 1990 Education Reform Directive noted the presence of contradiction in the reform process as follows "crisis of expectations on the part of the majority who were historically left out and the crisis of confidence in government reform process on the part of those who favour the status quo or even the status quo ante." (1990: 5). Considerably narrowing the focus of analysis at this point, Kleinhans and Lewis take

us to one town in Namibia which is striving to "rationalise and integrate" its three primary schools according to the basic education reform guide-lines of the state. At Lotter Primary in Køes for instance significant changes were recorded in the racial mix of the learner population while the teaching staff has remained 100% White, according to the data compiled by Kleinhans and Lewis (1993:15).

Affirmative action is the other critical dimension of the reform and key to understanding re-orientation process of educational services in the country. Article 141 of the Constitution commits the state to "addressing historical wrongs as a result of apartheid". In conjunction with the the three pillars of the Namibian Constitution: Unity, Liberty and Justice, Article 23 of the Constitution of the Republic of Namibia explicitly promotes a sort of "affirmative action" for the victims of apartheid who have endured 25 years of armed struggle and suffered catastrophic material/cultural casualties in the process of a long and harsh colonial history.

As the *policy guide-line* statements of the post-apartheid state re-affirms its commitment to this educational agenda "the new government of independent Namibia is ... determined to make the first tentative steps in that direction." In the opinion of the new government this "integration of the educational system" currently in process, is also the "most conspicuous" and possibly the "most difficult" reform "which has to be implemented". In practical *policy* terms this implies "unified national control over all the education in the country and *gradual transition* to a situation where equal resources are dedicated to schooling in all parts of the country for all groups of citizens."[60] This implies a critical focus toward the relative equality/inequality still prevailing in the distribution of the enabling resources among different classes and ethnic/racial groupings of the schooling population and between the rural and urban population in general. Variables associated with race, national enrollment figures and the new state's *resource allocation* guidelines to education at various levels and in various regions may present us with a convincing

---

[60]See Annual Report Of The Ministry of Education And Culture for the year ending 31 December 1991.

'empirical' account of the overall scope and direction of this historical *transition to an integrated-unified national* education system. At the moment however, equitable access to 'unified' schooling involves reluctant and controlled integration of "acceptable" non-white learners into former white schools (Kleinhaus/Lewis 1993:20). Significantly too, since the reform measures have been initiated "English medium schools seem to be more responsive to integration than Africaans and German medium ones" (1991:19).

The social demand/expectation for education in general has been well-nourished during the struggle for Namibia's independence and is likely to persist. The policy directives of the new state consistently invoke this shared aspiration in connection with the new struggles and imperatives brought on by nationhood. Thus according to the authoritative Transitional Policy Guide-Line Statement: "The development of the human person in his or her totality has been the *sine qua non* for our struggle to nationhood and a precondition for socio-economic development of our country...Education and training is therefore, an indispensable vehicle for nation building, socioeconomic transformation, individual advancement and cultural self-actualization"(ET:1). The origins of these statements lead directly to the theoretical roots/assumptions of the dominant modernization paradigm which more or less posits a direct correlation between education and socio-economic development or 'nation building' in the peripheries. The *Jomtien* declarations echo similar views by restating the benefits of education in terms of human resource development and *sustainable* growth through international collaborative action, funding, project lending and so on, all serving to reinforce external influence and domination.

Namibia poses an interesting problem. Emerging from centuries of oppression, generations of colonialism and decades of apartheid's segregationist educational practices, the notion of universality or *equal access* to education *for all* , if even at the primary stages, truly appears as a historic innovation. This is indeed a legitimate and modest aspiration for a people that have endured one of the most degrading modes of colonial domination and surplus extortion in the history of this continent. We are entitled to question however,

whether Namibian authorities are perhaps too optimistic in viewing their internationally prescribed/sponsored educational reform directives as appropriate instruments for 'nation building', personal growth and for purposes of redressing the historic and manifold imbalances etched deep within their socioeconomic formations?

A valid long-term sociological interpretation of educational reform anywhere in the peripheries today, must account for the exceptional development trajectories, geo-political and scientific interests structurally and historically embodied within each of the dependent capitalist social formations that "rely heavily on foreign assistance for education development (capital) budget; ..." (1991: 62). Namibia's reform process is particularly vulnerable in this case.

Whether the functional role played by the World Bank/IMF/US-AID is preponderant or not seems secondary and academic once the premises of the powerful 'global' consensus are accepted as a guiding principles of educational policy and investment efforts. Diversification of dependency on the 'technical assistance programmes' of various intra-government and non-government or bilateral agencies like Namibia practices does not effect the conditional character of the education reform in process at the local level. With respect to teacher in-service training programmes to improve their competence "an expert from the World Bank facilitates the workings of the "Think Tank". Knowledge and the process of analysis as defined by the dependent bureaucracy is still metropole-centered and far removed from the experience of the average African peasant and worker in his community.

It bears emphasis that Samoff's article offers direct support to Evans's formulation in a way that is highly relevant to conceptualizing the dependent nature of the political economy and educational reform anywhere in the peripheries of contemporary capitalism. In his view, since the end of the 1980's "a remarkable convergence in the orientations and priorities of diverse national and transnational funding agencies became apparent..." with the World Bank emerging as the lead agency in demarcating the education and development

agenda (1991: 63) of indebted Third World formations. The African theoretician and revolutionary pedagogue F. Fanon formulates the challenge in a more sweeping manner when he suggests that "the crisis of African revolution...is not a crisis of growth, but a crisis of knowledge. In too many cases the struggle for liberation and our own plans for the future are not only without a theoretical base, but are also more or less cut off from the concrete situation in which we are working" (Cabral: 1967). In other words 'extraversion' of ideas/knowledge...

The central point of the foregoing discussion for our purposes is the affirmation that 'whatever the initiative' i.e., the process of reform "must accommodate" the dependent and 'conditional' nature and content of this relationship explored by Samoff/Carnoy/Amin/ Cabral and others concerned with post-colonial literacy and education programmes (1991: 63). Namibia's post-apartheid educational reform cannot be exempt from these theoretical currents and realities shaping and informing the critical educational discourse of post Cold War international capitalism. As Jomtien's *Priority Action At World Level* suggests, the prospects of international support for expanded basic education in the 1990's are determined "in part by the dynamics of international relations and trade" (p. 41).

What is certain from the new post-apartheid regime's statements and policies in Windhoek, a firm determination to initiate a new mode of integrated educational experience for all Namibians according to *Jomtien's* guidelines is in progress. SWAPO has successfully generated, as evidenced at the polls, the requisite political mandate to initiate these reforms in education and the other 'superstructural' spheres of the national life. In the prevailing information-driven global environment, however scarcity of resources can have catastrophic implications, since the actual application of these envisaged post-apartheid educational policies requires a great deal of funding, knowledge and *expertise* sorely lacking in the peripheral dependent states of Africa. The whole process reform is anchored, as it were, on marshalling sufficient international inputs, thereby rendering the

'exogenous' terrain of 'conditioning' a crucial factor in any realistic mode of analysis and process of learning in the peripheries. The challenges for Namibia are predictable.

In this way, an underrated arena or site for the reproduction of 'existing' international capitalism and its unequal international division/specialization of labour may be located at the very core of the peripheral state's education bureaucracy and the schooling of its citizens. A large body of critical literature shows how the parameters of such 'reformist' policy discourse are largely defined/articulated and financed by the power/corporate elites of the 'core' capitalist states and closely associated transnational interests (Toh Swee-Hin:1983:409-10) around the world. The latter are increasingly responsible for enforcing the hegemonic interests and models of the dominant capitalist powers by other means.

On the possible uses of contemporary aid and funding sources to press Africans to embrace a certain perspective or agenda like multiracial/multiparty/multiethnic democracy or Education for All reforms, Uganda's Head of State Museveni has made a simple statement worth pondering over by all educators and so-called donors at some length. Namely, "Western nations have a missionary notion of transplanting their models to Africa" (The Globe and Mail, 10. 23. 1993).

Chapter 9

Concluding Observations/Commentary

Colonial education has been in Namibia for more than a hundred years. Its aim and purpose has been clear: to train for the maintenance of the status quo. Apartheid policies reinforces colonial education with the aim of placing the African people "where they belong": to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white master.

Reform Directive 1990

Based on the foregoing interpretation/evaluation, the effectiveness and direction of the reform process can be located within the all-encompassing historical and socioeconomic forces at work in a rapidly changing and capitalist 'conditioned' post-apartheid Namibian state. As was noted throughout this analytical exercise, it is almost impossible to separate educational issues from wider *political* issues and antagonisms that structure conditioned peripheral social formations. Post-apartheid schools are seen as major institutions for creating democratic citizenship throughout the nation with emphasis on the proposed narrowing down the the racial inequities governing historical access to the nation's schools.

Certain conclusions, inherent in the foregoing theoretical analysis may be drawn at this point. By focusing on the racial dynamics engendered by the reform process this section addresses itself to their explication/explanation in light of the policies initiated. Acknowledging the limitations constraining all forms of certitude in matters of social scientific inquiry, this conclusion will provide an open-ended assessment or summation to the thesis's original questions. Some may wish to interpret these temporary conclusions as 'findings'. However conceived, the available data suggests certain tendencies more forcefully while other may simply suggest themselves and should be recognized as such.

The complex administrative-institutional (State-bureaucratic) framework for a nationally integrated education system is in the process of formation and few scholars have the privileged information necessary to make sweeping and definitive conclusions on its achievements and shortcomings so far. Conclusions must therefore be guarded at this

point. There is no doubt however that over the last three years, the number of African students or 'black enrollment' (in the Policy Directives technicist language) into the unified/integrating education system has increased, however selectively, as has the number of African teachers-in-training who are preparing to function efficiently in the newly reformed education bureaucracy of the nation. The move toward equalizing educational opportunities is being coordinated by this educational bureaucracy, reinforcing the structuralist perception of the schools as a leading ideological apparatus of the post-colonial state and its conditioned reproductive processes and capacities. Any evaluation that hopes to accurately grasp the present trajectory of the reform process must acknowledge that state schools in Namibia are primarily determined by the reproductive needs of peripheral capitalism and the interests of the native 'professional-managerial class', a fraction of whom are unified under the National Ministry of Education and Culture. The administration of reformist educational policies in Namibia is the responsibility of this Ministry, as dictated by the state's overall policies. The hierarchical organizational structure of the leading National Institute of Educational Development is provided for in the Appendix.

Observers involved closely with the various processes associated with post-apartheid reforms have also suggested that however young, the multi-party political process must be judged as proceeding "in a very positive manner" (Forrest:1993:1) due to the absence of overt conflict as in most other sub-Saharan countries. At the top of the educational hierarchy, restructured bureaucratic hierarchies are being unified and de-centralized to launch the reform's objectives efficiently and in the consensual/reconciliatory manner envisioned by the constitution. In this context, the principles of efficiency-rationalization, greater decentralization within the educational apparatus and government are underway. Under the terms of the independence agreement brokered by the 'contact group' however, only "top level political appointments" could be replaced immediately as the negotiated settlement [enjoins] SWAPO "from dismissing or demoting any existing

civil servants" (1993:1). Left-over apartheid's civil servants are not seen as enthusiastic partners of the reform process by the SWAPO leadership. This conditional feature of the post-apartheid political process points to possible muted conflicts in the state bureaucracy and its operations. Modes of resistance to the reform process have become manifest at this level.

Gestures at enhancing racial and ethnic integration/unification, the core legitimation ideas of the school reform, are visible in certain public schools and classrooms as well. Statistically speaking, the number of interracial hostels, a euphemism for (segregated) rented students accommodations which now grudgingly accommodate all students regardless of race/ethnicity as residents, has grown. Boarding hostels have long been a part of the Namibian educational experience and are included in the de-segregation process of educational facilities. During the apartheid-colonial days every ethnic authority was authorized to determine the policies, fee structures and procedures that govern student hostels somewhat autonomously. As would be expected, type of accommodation, standard of facilities and fees were determined exclusively by race. This is no longer an acceptable practice. Thus a government designed policy of hostel desegregation is operating in line with the overall "rationalization" and "integration" process applied to the country's educational problems at large.[61]

The available data also suggests that despite the integrated education system's emphasis on social justice and racial equity, the Namibian social formation has not succeeded in disengaging itself from the racial hierarchies and economic inequities engendered in the past. After a century of oppression and neglect by assorted churches and successive colonial regimes the majority of black Africans still remain illiterate, dispossessed and among the world's poorest people. In other words, generations of racism

---

[61]For more details on hostel fees and new policies see the document entitled Education And Culture in Namibia: The Way Forward To 1996. 1991. Annex 3 on New Policy on Hostel Fees. The state is determined to reduce the use of hostels by merging facilities and encouraging "learners to be day scholars" (35).

cannot be immediately dismantled through the mechanisms of multi-party/multi-racial democratic process, educational reform packages and rationalzations devised abroad and implemented through international 'networking' procedures alone. The process of selective integration identified in the last section also suggests that racism continues to have an adverse effect on the capacities of all Africans to pursue the opportunities and liberal ideals officially embodied in the unified/integrated education system's directives.

The post-apartheid regime has chosen to elevate educational reform as a primary goal of public policy and legislative attention within the political framework of parliamentary and so-called multi-racial democracy. Support for the reform appears widespread/international at the moment and includes powerful transnational corporations (Rossing) with serious economic stakes and business interests within Namibia. The international geo-political climate (changing from the East-West context to a more explicit North-South axis) coupled with the pluralist-democratic framework of governance adopted by the post-apartheid state and the liberal educational discourse within which MUC operates are crucial variables in understanding the wide-ranging international support marshalled toward the reform process. The end of the Cold War has forced emphasis on the human aspects of economic growth thereby placing education and human rights at the center of international policy dialogues.

All in all, the effective conversion and unification of the pre-existing (eleven) structures and racially/ethnically divided administrations/ facilities is gradually moving along the liberal-democratic guidelines (agenda) and policies articulated by the post-apartheid leadership. As planned, the whole reform process is spearheaded by MEC-NIES's professional and trans-national 'nucleus unit' located centrally within the national bureaucratic structures of the state and functioning under the Minister's executive decisions. Within this internationally staffed "network of collaboration" lies the hub of the reform's powerful communications technology, control/expertise, international consultancy and dissemination of knowledge pertaining to every minutia of the reform

process. In other words, exogenous forces play a critical role (fiscally, technically, administratively, theoretically) throughout the construction, organization and implementation of the national educational reform agenda. The corollary is that the whole process will certainly remain indebted and beholden to its principal external supporters/ backers for the foreseeable future. Without continuous 'assistance' and imports from abroad or the North, the reform process is unable to support its educational objectives. Conditional reform liberalism in Namibia therefore faces different sets of problems in terms of meeting the demand and criteria of external authorities.

Reformist through and through, educational change in post-apartheid Namibia is designed to start "at the top" and to administratively percolate from the "top down" to eventually reach hitherto disenfranchised 'learners' at schools and in racially mixed classrooms. The conceptual reference to *learners* in managerial language of the policy directives is important in that it insists on smudging of old racial boundaries and treating students equally in the unified education system i.e., regardless of race/ethnicity/gender. This line of reasoning is self-consciously consistent with the Deweyan form of liberal educational thinking (progressivism) underpinning the reform process. Dewey apparently assumed that a free and universal school system "can render the opportunity for self-development independent of race, ethnic origins, class background and sex" (Bowles and Gintis:1976:22). As Bowles and Gintis emphasize however, this liberal dogma of progressivism has already been thwarted in practice.

Conversely, it is argued in Namibia that the National Institute of Education Development (NIED) is mandated to "propagate" and deliver the contents of a redesigned public education system for all, referring to a plurality of 'learners' independent of racial origin and class background. NIED articulates its functions by co-ordinating and executing the reform agenda according to such race-neutral policy directives and categories issued in the technical language of 'donors', international agencies and adopted accordingly by the political leadership. In matters of educational policy, the appropriate terms of reference are

strongly prescribed by the doctrines of "nation building" and the 'education for all' universal-humanitarian perspective issued at *Jomtien* as argued in the last chapter. The North's enthusiastic celebration of global plurality/human rights, the collapse of "Marxism" into a global new knowledge-based and enlightened international order of "post-ideological" reconciliation, progressivism, partnership between North-South and what are generally recognized as the New World Order principles are found like articles of self-evident faith throughout the reform's philosophy and its directives. The larger albeit understated educational objective of these policies is to promote integration of the peripheries into the present global system of production and markets, where Basic education and training hold specific positions in the global hierarchy of the wage-labour system.

Paradoxically, the limitations and prejudices of the *Jomtien* educational agenda lie in its avoidance (or refusal to take into consideration) the specific racial circumstances of the people it seeks to "empower" through top-down bureaucratic forms. The Namibian student's life prospects and expectations hinge on complex issues of ongoing racial, economic and social-class stratifications which remain unaddressed in the *Jomtien* paradigm and the progressivist assumptions adopted over curricular activities and classroom experience. The fetters of race and racial identities are still part of the daily experience of living in Namibia and cannot be "transcended" by bestowing upon subjects an abstract universality like "learners" or simply "clients" as progressive minded and liberal theory of education requires. Unfortunately however, internationally trained African administrators and policy-makers are trained/obliged to share *Jomtien's* Eurocentic prejudices in their understanding of 'learners' or child-centered curriculum and 'integrated' classrooms when formulating learning policies in a different context. All indications point that the present occupational status, incomes and opportunities for education are still based significantly on race and that a comprehensive pedagogic approach aiming at 'empowerment' must reduce the absolute poverty and various discriminatory practices

faced specifically by black Africans in the present international/national situation. Failure to address these issues will have great implications for teachers, students and administrative personnel alike.

Implementation of certain compensatory policies associated with the unified and common (integrated) system of national education has obviously began to take shape within the scope defined by international consultancy and "technical assistance" teams. External authority literally defines the dominant concepts appropriate to the reform process. What may be called a certain conditioned *reform momentum* is therefor taking hold, in which a myriad international involvements and financial support-investment agencies and NGO's are collaborating simultaneously to sustain and advance the national reform initiative and enforce the overall liberal vision of the consensus. Since such seemingly minor advances toward racial integration in public schools were not even imaginable in *apartheid-bound* Namibia, a few African faces surfacing in white schools may appear somewhat momentous at first and suggest that 'integration' is proceeding smoothly.[62] It is crucial to note however, that cultivating genuine educational equality and social justice, according to the liberal-democratic visions expressed in the Constitution of Namibia, can never be reducible to advanced *technicist* modifications and bureaucratic adjustments of class sizes, suggested standard teacher-student ratios in schools, updating teacher competencies, implementing double sessioning here and there (efficiency criteria) and the like. Commitment to affirmative action programmes for Africans remains a fundamental part of the reform's objectives and must be seen to take effect soon.

Critical educational theorists look towards the substance of the school's apparent integration process to help them understand the long-term socioeconomic and political

---

[62]Particularly from Kleinhans and Lewis's article one may discern the level of hostility or "bad feeling" generated by the finer points of the reform process i.e. integration in the classrooms and other 'public' spaces, enrollment of blacks etc. In their first-hand account of events there are a lot of reference like "this angered the White community...it culminated in the majority of white parents taking their children out of the school...result of significant 'white flight'" etc.

implications of the new structural arrangements and power relations realized by the reform, right down to the level of classroom structures and curricula. From this perspective, it is noteworthy to assess whose interests and knowledge are really being served or eclipsed in the proposed post-apartheid reform process. Does the reform process really promote social justice and genuine empowerment for blacks, if at all these concepts appropriately express the changing educational trajectories in store for the historically disenfranchised African majority?

It must be conceded by way of conclusion that the proposed empowerment and rehabilitation of the black majority through free and equal educational opportunities remains selective, theoretical and even promissory for the majority at this very moment. Only the legal constraints of apartheid have been removed for certain, while economic inequality along racial lines remains an entrenched part of the post-apartheid educational experience for blacks. Liberty *from* apartheid (negative freedom) is not to be confused with liberty *to* immediately pursue new educational opportunities in the self-directed manner which distinguishes the 'positive' conceptions of liberty that is associated with democratic empowerment. The latter comes about only where people have the requisite material means at their disposal and are adequately informed. Ensuring equal accessibility of educational services to the historical disadvantaged may therefore involve political interventions contradictory to the liberal conception of the state as a neutral medium for 'top-down' delivery of what are essentially 'raceless' educational reform packages, process and curricula, elaborated overseas. Although the proposed progressive principles and models may work well in certain settings it has severe limitations in an overwhelmingly illiterate and rural African society, however dedicated, well-trained and skilled the teaching staff may be. Indeed certain educators have argued that the whole movement of child-centered progressivism in education theory is infused with white, upper middle-class bias (Gardner H. The Unschooled Mind: How Children Think...1991) and requires rethinking.

However benevolently, apartheid's economic conditions still prevail in Namibia blocking access to the 'negative' liberties and universalized 'basic rights' that are enshrined in the Republic's constitution. The inherited differences in the living condition between the former White administration schools and 'Bantu Education' sites for Blacks remain stark and in extraordinary contrast to each other crying out for more nuanced measures to enable African students to make the transition. These disparities manifest "a story of two societies and worlds apart" (1990:3) as the *Directive* aptly summarizes the lived contradictions of the colonial *modus operandi or dispensation of power relations* which have been inherited in part. Further still, the daily life-experiences of the African and European people have none of the shared values and standards generally recognized as necessary for democratic self-governance to function judiciously at the level of 'civil society', a condition which is nevertheless assumed as 'given' in the reform's pluralist assumptions and principles of equal access. In post-apartheid Namibia one still finds the marginalized African families in menial dead-end jobs or "illiterate, semi-literate, unskilled and unemployable" and on the other the "well educated, fully employed and better remunerated" (1990:3) white family, without a mediating democratic culture or tradition on both sides. However skillfully managed, the multi-racial elections organized and supervised by the UN cannot be considered genuinely democratic except in the superimposed institutional sense of the term i.e., mechanically attached onto the conditioned 'extraverted' structures of the old super-exploitative *mode of production* developed by *apartheid*.[63] There is little comprehension of democratic principles and processes among the relevant populations, as the institutions and procedures have not evolved organically within the social, cultural and educational milieu of Namibia. One cannot define an appropriate educational context ideally, that is

---

[63]The concept of *mode of production* involves far more than the technical configurations of the labour process and material production in the Marxist debate, pointing instead to the whole *ensemble* of exploitative relations *hierarchically* super- and sub-ordinated within and among particular socioeconomic formations of the world.

without addressing all the aspects of the environmental, occupational social and psychological issues that effect the African children in particular.

Ultimately, it is not plausible to argue convincingly that genuine multi-party/multi-racial democracy and democratization of access, have been successfully implemented in Namibia today without leaving out some vital details. Effective democratization of society requires a longer historical process to mature and is not simply a function of the political process i.e. modified parliamentary institutions designed to secure minority white economic privileges whatever the outcome of the elections. Even numerically the overall 'learner' population in the newly unified/integrated education systems does not proportionately reflect the racial/ethnic and gender composition of the wider Namibian social formation which is overwhelmingly black. On the promising end, the ethnic/racial composition of some urban schools is nonetheless changing gradually. This is readily obvious in the examination of the rare data supplied by those closely associated with the reform process. The culture of silence and deprivation in the wider society, understood in the critical Freirian sense, has not diminished upon the "birth of the nation" except perhaps in the exceptional event of a few individuals. The larger picture the present state of schooling in Namibia cannot be judged by these exceptions.

The infrastructure of knowledge and ongoing research which explicitly legitimates and endorses pedagogical/curriculum practices/processes and crucial assumptions of the ongoing educational reform functions according to theoretical criteria set by international academics and their priorities.[64] Rooted primarily in the dominant intellectual culture of the hegemonic metropolitan centers, the knowledge and theoretical discourse that structures all aspects of the reform policy is a reconstituted "modernization" paradigm popular in the knowledge producing centers of the donor countries. In tandem with other "stakeholder

---

[64]Aside from being child-centered and requiring highly skilled teachers, the progressive model adopted puts emphasis on the primacy of 'process' as opposed to 'content' in schooling

groups" (see Appendix) the latter institution is involved in projects aimed at improving pre-service teacher training in Namibia.

Consistent with the *technicists* approach, advanced professional administrative and management skills are considered a vital precondition to the effective application of the reform agenda and 'banking' approach to literacy development as a whole. The right sort of 'human capital' and the primacy of a 'viable and professional back-up system' as a 'prerequisite to solid education development' are stressed. The relevant policy Report presents its comprehensive progressivist- modernizing strategy to the First Parliament whose exact words are worth citing here at some length:

> Form the social and pedagogical limitations characteristic of the inherited South African system, a wide range of measures have been applied to implementing the letter and spirit of the Constitution as well as transforming the Namibian classroom into an accessible, learner-centered, and effective learning environment. These measures include: the addition to and integration among Ministry staff of technical assistance professionals from nearly a dozen countries; initiation of development of a modern, effective educational management information system; development and implementation of a national educational language policy; integration and rationalised use of under-ultilized schools of the Former White Administration (emphasis added: *Directive* 10, emphasis added).

To debate the level of sovereignty or 'autonomy' exercised by a 'conditioned' peripheral state which has 'multilateralized' effective fiscal/intellectual control over the daily operational/definitional aspects of its educational reform policy with external donors/ researchers, appears to be a purely 'academic' exercise at this point. The epistemological grounding and administrative practices of the reform are solidly metropolitan-centered in conceptual development and proposed solutions. At the political level, the notion of sovereignty therefore exists in rather precarious and under conditional circumstances. In its technician's objectivity, the derivative language of the reform process conveys a certain lack of coherence, disjunction or even detachment from the specificity of indigenous

African political economic base and rural social context and racism which define the existential conditions of those which it purports to address.

The pressures to conform to the dominant paradigm are manifested variously throughout the practices of both external 'donors' and internal opposition forces still nestled throughout the apparatus of the state and crucial sites of the educational bureaucracy. The methods in which donors advance 'technical assistance' to specific projects within the larger reform process are based on conditions that research "findings" more or less conform to certain perimeters of discourse set in advance by scholarly consent among donor institutions and academics. This "knowledge-bound" aid amongst other drawbacks effectively suppresses the generation of indigenous knowledge sources/ scholarship and serves to de-legitimate existing counter-hegemonic critiques that may pose challenges to the presumed validity of the whole initiative. Much has been written about the concept of *sustainability* and its details are unnecessary here, except in the context of substantiating the forgoing propositions and relations through which knowledge is produced.[65]

Applied to development business imperatives, this notion is connected to determining the available resources (recurrent capital costs, revenues being received, aid etc.) and eventual gains "rates of return" that may be expected from donor supported 'projects'. The 'project' mentality embodied deeply in 'donor' calculations has been criticized by Samir Amin. At any rate, such feasibility studies may then be employed to perpetuate certain project, reject others or approve others conditionally, i.e., through further criteria of adjustments established by 'stakeholders', concerned government and participating non-government 'donor' agencies. In other words, their impact or *effect* involves more than purely academic or fiscal calculations. Although the compelling market

---

[65]A sustained discussion on the issue of sustainability studies vis a vis Namibia would have to address the fact that according to 1990 data, while the 90% Africans consumed only 12.8% of the gross domestic product GDP the 10% European inhabitants dispensed the remainder 81.% (Profile, New International, March 1991).

rationale is to maintain the reform process as a 'worthwhile investment' for all "stakeholders" concerned, its ultimate meanings resonate ominously in the legitimation sphere of statecraft. In other words, the politics of sustainability studies goes beyond economistic "rate of return" analytical considerations and involves environmental and other variables associated with current basic needs "human rights" and "grass-roots" sensitive concerns, prioritized by dominant development discourse and world-systemic organizations. The conditional issue of sustainability is therefore political in every critical sense of the term.

Given the guiding assumptions and the latest data accessible to this study, strictly judged the educational reform process of Namibia is not sustainable based on the current level of internal resources/assets immediately available to MUC. To be sure, the available data may be interpreted variously. This prognosis is commensurate with Fair's in-depth study of this notion in Namibia, which in turn is based on "the Ministry's best guess at expected costs and resources"(1993:3). If this reading of the situation is somehow acceptable, ongoing access to supplementary financing and political support to maintain the momentum and costs of the projected reform and ultimately regime-legitimacy will be all the more dependent on global economic forces/conjunctural dynamics and accumulation challenges placed specifically on the Namibian state. Ongoing donor involvement is therefore presupposed in all aspects of the post-apartheid state's educational policies and financial calculus.[66] Without this crucial support, the leadership's stated vision and liberal objectives of educational modernization will remain out of reach. This explains why the state is firmly committed to "consolidate and expand" the extensive international network of collaboration and co-operation already commissioned and cultivated.

There are no longer any formal-legal restrictions based on race/ethnicity limiting or holding back personal advancement and educational attainment by black Namibians in their

---

[66]USAID funds are released in what are known as 'trenches' or slices, pending fulfillment of certain conditions. According to a recent study on sustainability by K. Nair, capital costs are expected to exceed recurrent costs according to the scenario mapped out for basic education projects.

own country. In other words, the legal status of the current African has changed. Primary or a reformed basic education for all Namibians has been declared free, compulsory and an inalienable constitutional right deserving high priority in post-apartheid history. Overall a vast educational reform and 'renewal' process (rational-unification/rational-integration) at all levels is noticeable. The overall *effects* at the socio-economic and everyday schooling sites of the nation are rather modest so far, more in the order of continuity and international adjustment, rather than change towards new structures and possibilities. This assessment can be observed on several levels.

The available Namibian data indicates that the oppressive impact of economic *apartheid* lingers on in a perverse manner and with enormous cruelties to the educational and home environment of the majority. The lack of sufficient educational facilities and qualified indigenous personnel are only part of the educational challenges confronted by SWAPO. Many primary school classes in the rural areas are over-crowded, and lack basic text books and classroom equipment to even qualify as 'schools' in the Western sense of the term. Some children have to travel for miles to access one such facility. Fundamental infrastructural facilities to accommodate the projected reform process remain to be constructed anew and the basic (conventional) technical equalization (Teacher-Student ratio) of unequal/unbalanced class sizes (of 'normal' schools) is not expected to materialize prior to 1998 (1993:2). The problem of inequalities will thus remain with us for the foreseeable future.

In other words, much remains to be done by way of removing the inherited conditions that are likely to marginalize and alienate the majority of African students in schools and from most 'schools' of the new unified type. Conceptions of universal access and liberal social justice adopted in relation to the historically 'underprivileged' Africans appear insufficiently sensitive to the radically unequal structural and material dimensions that influence the African's ongoing relation to these integrated schools. The reasons for this oversight may well be purely pragmatic or ideological. The practical effect however is

to honor/justify the unfair economic arrangements and property acquisitions of apartheid as acceptable. This posture avoids the far-reaching issues of redistribution, including re-distribution of remuneration or income and social entitlements to the labour force in post-apartheid society. Herein also lies another limitations of the reform process.

Ultimately the compulsive imperatives of 'conditioned' capitalist accumulation/growth and its production and consumption cycles remain in charge of the political economy of Namibia and operate along traditional colonial channels. The 'extraverted' mining economy and employment markets still pursue a strategy of "development and growth", where controlling economic stakes and interests remain foreign or transnational. 90% of Namibia's consumer goods are still imported from South Africa and processed externally. The imperatives of trans-national businesses/concessions to valorize capital, accrue profits and become richer are still in command, with few structural modifications and democratization. Educational reforms remain accessory to the over-riding purpose of internationalized capitalist accumulation and the expansion of "market democracies" as seen by international 'donors' who determine participation in any refinancing of ongoing reform projects. As such, there is still a great deal of structural continuity founded on unfavorable economic interdependency historically established with the outside world and South Africa in particular. Much of what had been psychologically inherited from the past can thus be encountered in either highly encoded 'academic' phrases or more directly by accessing the intersubjectivities of citizens (principals, parents, teachers) or 'learners' involved in the reform initiatives i.e. interviews.

Among the multiple structural-historical experiences (1991/92:19) of subjugations and disenfranchisement strategies built by *apartheid*, "incurable racism" has emerged as a leading psychological constraint to the unobstructed and full extension of the reform process nationwide. In the face of the serious educational exclusions this still fosters on the African victims, there appears no regime initiative to decisively persecute perpetrators who have become impossible to ignore in the educational-pedagogical context. Racism is not

just a mental aberration here, but becomes an objective reality manifested throughout the social structures, institutions and classrooms of the nation. Obstructionist behaviour against the reconciliatory spirit of reform are not only advanced by "carry-over" civil servants but constitute a real phenomenon, according to Muskin "for both government and the international technical assistance community" (1993:3). This persistence of racism continues to reinforce this study's contention that the post-apartheid state's treatment of the central category of race within the overall educational reform agenda remains superficial at best.

The conditioned state thus remains of central importance throughout the process of implementing the reform process and disseminating the received ideological, cultural and intellectual-knowledge commodities or so-called 'inputs' spawned by a variety of Western research and development (R&D) scholars and collaborating 'world-systemic' institutions. The post-apartheid state of Namibia does not emerge as a *transitional* state concerned with ideological commitments about finding and promoting the primacy of a "correct road to socialism", as identified by Carnoy and Samoff's analysis of the genuine 'democratization of education' processes pursued in (post-Batista) Cuba or (post-Samoza) Nicaragua and Guinea-Bissau. Wedded firmly to the "rationalistic" considerations of profit (rate of return) and possibilities of 'conditioned' capitalist economic growth, the state remains a crucial mediating apparatus for securing the pre-conditions for favorable international investment/accumulation climate in Namibia. It is definitely not an anticapitalist people's state which intervenes vigorously with an alternative educational agenda that is inclusive of the marginalized. In the wider struggle between capital and labour it assumes a subordinate role to trans-national and post-industrial capitalist interests and provides incentives and the means of production (including a work force) for faster and more efficient accumulation and reproduction of conditioned capitalism. This reactive posture of the non-interventionist liberal state appears to be inconsistent with the objective of rehabilitating the historic victims of apartheid as commitment to affirmative action implies.

Beginning from the externally sustained fiscal allocations, the emergent reform in form and substance approximates the depoliticizing "interactive partnership" strategy and ideological "consensus" on international education mapped out at Jomtien. The laissez-faire pattern of state intervention found in Namibia faithfully mirrors the rationale of the neutral, ahistorical and depoliticizing conceptions of schooling incorporated in Jomtien's plan of action. In contrast to the transformative intervention (re-invention of power - Freire/ Macedo) of the Cuban/Nicaraguan/Mozambiquean model, educational intervention in Namibia is conceived in administrative modes and technocratic-professional terms pertaining to schools in the main, i.e., improving the quality and process of education which all students shall receive in the integrated system of education without however restructuring the pattern of production and power relations outside.

To achieve the necessary coordination between the desired "centralized technocratic planning" and decentralization decision-making at the level of local and rural constituencies, the MUC has forged new administrative structures which are being consolidating into six Regional Education Offices. The state's management and administration capacities (instrumental rationality) in this area are being enhanced by what is known as the Education Information Management System (EMIS). Amidst tensions and contradictions, these structures are in the process of redefining/adjusting to their new duties and responsibilities of mediation between their communities and the centralized post-apartheid state without "undue government intervention" (1991/92:19) as the policy directives emphasize. Instead of mass mobilization/participation for social action as a means of self-implementing the spirit and objectives of the reform process, the emphasis is on imported consultation, planning and formalized dialogue. In other words the challenge is seen as "bringing" the reform process into the classrooms in "a measured and controlled fashion" or in the words of one official policy directive: "the processes of consultation, interactive partnership, involvement and collaborating networking are central to our change and implementation approach" (1990:32).

Where appropriately consulted and state-prescribed policy changes have not yet been initiated bureaucratically by UNID-UNES (Unified National Education System) officials, the leadership prefers the *status quo* to remain in place (1990:25). In other words "no major dislocation of existing facilities should be entertained" according to the 'order' oriented rationality of the policy Directive issued in 1990. What is underlined in this policy stance is the conservative and guided-administrative or *dirigiste* character of the anticipated educational reform/compensatory process in the making. State intervention is focused on guiding the administrative, supervisory and control functions of the reform in a politically manageable manner (non-transformative).

At the level of pedagogically implementations in the actual classrooms, the emancipatory reflexes of the Namibian people will not be reciprocated by the politicizing *conscientization educational* approach (transformative) to literacy identified with Freire's thought. Instead, Dewey's pragmatism and philosophical canons on human equality and democratic schooling are appropriated directly from the experiences of industrialized societies into a society where manufacture industry for indigenous consumption is almost absent and democratic culture/participation extremely limited. Still, notions of progressive education, learner-centered or "learner-friendly" and "self-accessing" instructional materials and techniques are routinely invoked in the relevant policy sections discussing primary school curriculum improvement and reform. Notwithstanding the pervasive democratic rhetoric, pervasive unequal opportunities are not likely to be settled in integrated school systems and classrooms. Indeed, educational history suggests that integrated education in and of itself is powerless to reverse advancing structural-economic inequalities. With respect to this issue Jencks et. al. have convincingly argued that "a more egalitarian system would do little to create a more equal distribution of income or opportunity" (in Bowles and Gintis 1976:6) even in a relatively wealthy and industrialized capitalist country like the U.S. at one extreme. In the peripheries, the radical gap between officially declared opportunities and actual capacities for their utilization must be closed by the political

process to fare any better. This is certainly not part of the liberal educational reform agenda now in progress.

As L.A. Gremin once noted there is always a "conventional wisdom" in educational theory. What is illustrated in this case is the contradictory merger of post World War II liberal-progressivism in education with the "conventional wisdom" of 1990's embodied in Basic Education Reform which is firmly grounded in an imperialist socio-economic global reality.

This *universalizing* approach fails to consistently acknowledge that peripheral formations are problematic and fundamentally different in structure, "horizon of possibilities" and historical conjuncture from those found at the center. The subject of transferability/ relevance of the knowledge and the role of mediating 'agency' (the problem of subject and its transformation) are thus officially deflected without the critical discussions they merit in the nation's educational enterprise. The state simply poses as a consumer and conveyor of a long abandoned western educational rationality minimally adjusted to maintain legitimacy and funding. This approach to the country's educational dilemma tends to trivialize the ongoing struggle of the non-European people of the South for a 'voice' to freely identify the needs of their own communities and initiate their own process of pedagogy and transformation. A more enlightened curriculum reform policy would conceivably depart from the country's indigenous needs, potentials and possibilities. From this standpoint, the Namibian people can hardly be said to have regained control of the historical initiative. Since curriculum improvements are not rooted in local conditions/ needs possible alienation, expressed in high drop-out rates, from this 'extraverted' educational policy cannot be ruled out in the long-term, as has occurred in other sub-Saharan formations.[4]

It is a conventional truism that education anywhere depends on the quality of teachers. Consequently, large scale Teacher-training is considered a vital pre-condition for the existing reform scheme to succeed as well. As such, Post-1991 has witnessed the

establishment of the so-called Think-Tank, which is the Working Group on teacher In-Service Training and functions as a sort of clearing house for Teacher In-Service Projects implementation, as the name implies (1991:14). The first graduates of these training projects will not experience practical teaching until this year (1993). In a word, existing conditions in the domain of physical facilities, curriculum design and educational services in Namibia can best be expressed as being in a state of 'flux', to borrow a word from one of MUCs policy directive, usefully entitled Education and Culture in Namibia: The Way Forward to 1996. Although Teacher-In-Service Training has assumed a high profile, the pedagogical programmes do not appear to take into consideration the requirement of active *non-racist education*, sorely needed after a century of colonial education and decades of *apartheid*'s systemic racism, partly internalized among the colonized. It may thus be said that *apartheid* has been shaken though not totally destroyed until this is set in motion.

A variation of anti-racist education could for instance be implemented under the category of "re-orientation in the methodologies of teaching" section which the Teacher In-Service programme calls for in its present form. Part of the criteria for determining the qualification of teachers in post-apartheid Namibia must include a demonstrable comprehension of the violent role of racism in the ongoing subordination of the 'other'. This awareness of racist educational practices of the past and present, by no means a panacea for social justice, will at least enable teacher's to recognize and respect certain conditioned experiences of their learners which may emerge in classroom performances and behaviour. Familiarity with the history of the 'other' from the lived perspective of the 'other' can only enhance awareness of the subordinated learner's non-white/colonized historical realities and relevant educational/pedagogical approach to overcome them. Anti-racist education at every level of the system can only result in the improvement of the pedagogy and overall curriculum policies the African students receive.

This proposition will admittedly pose some problems given the near absence of agreement on this issue. Nevertheless, the basic functions and consequences of systemic

racism on Africans, merit a more serious consideration throughout the curriculum field of post-apartheid Namibia. Indeed, one gets the impression that the role of racism, the way it functions incessantly within social-institutional processes and how it may effectively be combatted from interfering in the reform's conception of educational equality for all has not been fully confronted so far. As suggested earlier, the paramount factor of race remains inscribed in the existing arrangement of the international political economy and the intersubjective experience forged between and within Namibians.

At the level of schools, overall the figures show that enrollment in the primary cycle (the lynch-pin of the entire reform) has gone up in every education region except Keetmanshoop which has recorded a 2% decrease in primary enrollment. A few non-white Africans have managed to enroll in former white schools (Table 3:8) which is taken as evidence that "top-down" multi-dimensional integration efforts are in motion. By its very nature, the reform process is moving very slowly and cautiously since no particular enforcement measure has been adopted by the 'minimalist' state (1991/92:19) displaying part of its pledged liberal-democratic ethos. In this area, the MUC is committed to ensuring what it calls a 'genuine' integration process in all schools but through a "process of consultation and consensus building"(1991:4) among the citizenry, School Boards/ Committees and Advisory Councils which are being established to purportedly stir "implementation activities" in the right direction. This process has empowered principals and the parents of the privileged who already possess the material and cultural capital to make appropriate use of their procedures and operations. Pluralist and evolutionary in procedure, strategy and conception of social change, the state also adopts a consultative mode of governance constitutive of representative democracies at the centre, where the majority is ill-equipped/informed to usefully comment on sophisticated systems imposed upon them under a great deal of external stimuli, expertise and finances subtly combining consensus by both persuasion and coercion (Chomsky:1991) for worldwide 'consent' and enforcement.

It is also not clear if any of the details of policy directions/goals have been translated in the various indigenous languages to better involve native and 'grassroot' Namibians in the consensual process. Thus how much of an active part this populations has in the process of negotiations and consultations governing educational policy decisions is predictable. The preconditions to support such an implied culturally robust democratic life, discourse and decision-making process are meagre in Namibia and concentrated at the 'propertied' top-echelons of the social hierarchy where foreign capitalist interests and those local elites or broadly 'national bourgeoisie' are paramount. At best, the indigenous consensual practices are fashioned at this level.

At whatever level of operations, it is obvious now the reform initiative must accommodate itself to the exigencies and modalities of the extensive external relationship (partnership) implanted in the nation's bureaucratic center of educational planning and administration. This is where the FSU's Improving the Efficiency of Educational systems project and the sizable senior international staff (technical assistance) which rationalizes and theorizes policy options in partnership with the political leadership of the Republic's Minister of Education converge "toward the creation of strong foundations from which programmes could be initiated and activities launched to achieve the objectives..." (See Budget Debate:1991/92:4). Although by no means the biggest contingent or 'donor', the USAID team of 'expertise' has become indispensable to the realization of the basic education agenda adopted at *Etosha*, i.e., promotion of equal access, improved efficiency and enhancing the quality of learning (1991:10) in schools i.e. the critical goals stated above.

However laudable this agenda may be, the socio-economic infrastructure at the center of this educational reform process is still burdened by *apartheid's* handiwork of peripheral accumulation/unequal exchange and its underlying race-based national division of labour, polarizing Namibians further along incipient class lines. However submerged under universal claims, the educational possibilities/opportunities available to different

classes or racial groups begins with the resources at their disposal. Notwithstanding the removal of the notorious Group Areas Act, residential segregations continue to exist more or less unchanged. In its policy statement MUC concedes politely that pre-existing distances of segregated residential areas may have contributed to "low non-white enrollment in former whites only school"(Budget Debate:1991/92:19) so far, but suggests no immediate legislation to ameliorate this condition. To be sure, one suspects deeper constraints than 'geographic' considerations alone stand in the way of increased desegregation of the nation's educational facilities. Barely a year into the reform process, it was already noted in relation to the Basic education sphere that "former Whites only primary Schools are seriously lagging behind in accessing their physical facilities to other race groups" (Budget Debate:1991/92:17) In other words, there are are still socioeconomic inequities, geographic boundaries and cultural obstacles facing African learners in pursuit of their declared formal rights to equal access. It has also been observed that controlled widening of access to blacks has so far favored "the middle class black child" who is more often than not considered "coloured" thereby corresponding with the old racial mythology "where the coloured child with fair skin and straight hair is [considered] more acceptable than the black child" (1993:12) and therefore more intelligent and so on. The myth emphasizes *continuity* as opposed to *change* and serves to make integration more palatable to white Namibians.

The pursuit of equal opportunities promises to be more of a Sisyphean feat when conceived within a framework of decolonization that constitutionally recognizes the interests/possessions and privileges of the white minority as legitimate, however unjustly they may have been acquired through slave-labour conditions.[5] The white minority continues to assert its imperial privileges through privately owned educational institutions. This compromise infuses the prospect of the educational reform by promoting the formation of what is known as a dual education system. Indeed, privately financed (dominantly white) educational opportunities still give the affluent colonizer a dominant

positioning in the socioeconomic and industrial spheres while vacating the bureaucratic and government functions to the indigenous "middle classes" in formation.

The quality of education in privately financed institutions is not on the same level as that offered in state schools. Not surprisingly, the authorities are discovering that pedagogical limitations (constant grade repetitions/drop-outs etc.) are endemic among blacks, as are wide disparities in the Learner-Teacher ratios across schools, communities/ regions and the great racial as well as urban/rural divide. The state has declared the present disparities in the ratios between the former white schools and rural-black schools (1:7 and 1:50 respectively) as an "unacceptable situation" and has issued guidelines for correcting this particular "national contradiction". Rationalized rigorously in the technicists' language of the "economies of cost benefit", MUC has recommended that the minimum number of learners in the primary cycle should be 30 and at the secondary level 25 (1991:5) to facilitate quality instruction. Beyond suggesting such 'rationalization' processes, SWAPO has refrained from actively using the political and judicial machinery to legitimately redress some of the most obvious social and economic disadvantages and hardships confronting the African majority.

Whereas state-run 'government' schools are expected to abide by certain ratios and standards, affluent private schools are immune from such considerations. Educationally speaking, the data at this point suggests that very little has changed for those comfortably ensconced at the top of the socioeconomic and racial hierarchy in Namibia. They escape even the mildest of state intervention by joining *de-facto* segregated private institutions of education like *Elnatan* which exist as constitutionally protected options of the privileged minority. Such sites offer special economic opportunities to those who can afford to be better schooled. Under constitutional license, financially privileged students can gain educational advantages/opportunities and greater teacher contact and overall quality educational facilities by taking a route not available to the great majority. Indeed at this 'protected' level of the social hierarchy, unification/integration process appears to have no

immediate consequences in terms of modifying the teacher-student ratios, teacher qualifications, language reorientation, racist attitudes and educational standards. Members of the urbanized and propertied African elite may now avail themselves of these privileged opportunities (leading to university training etc.) offered by "private education" and avoid the public schools where the standards learning abilities and 'learning outcomes', according to the 1991/92 Submission of MUC, still "leaves a lot to be desired"(1991/92:15). This partially explains why the rationalization process has been characterized by a "one-way" movement of African learners into former white schools.

Notwithstanding the absence of *apartheid* laws, rural African children still have to walk hungry for miles to obtain their basic educational 'rights' and subsist in ill-fed and impoverished households with predictable results on their performance and opportunities. The existing data on resource distribution in US public schools suggests that those who receive the least at home also receive the least from public education, however, integrated (Kozol:1990) the facilities. Such and other limiting material-structural and socio-psychological realities cannot be circumvented by establishing legal "rights" to formally non-racial institutions of education, legitimized by some "unctuous platitudes about democracy" and universal notions of equality and human rights as T. Balogh once remarked about the early educational problems besetting post-colonial Africa (1964:543).

Behind the rhetoric of educational reform, an unofficial "apartheid" of wealth may be entrenching privileges through the 'two-track' system of education (state and private schools) provided by the post-apartheid state. After all is said and done, resolute devotion to the possibilities of *modernity* and faith in liberal-democratic institutions accurately describes the principal *raison d'etre* of the intensive educational reconstruction and integration process underway in post-apartheid Namibia. It is by no means a foregone conclusion that Namibia will avoid the pitfalls of educational neocolonialism prevalent throughout sub-Sahara Africa. Emerging from the same historical and structural context, the 'larger' South African denouement of *apartheid* will be monitored rather carefully by

statesmen, bureaucrats, researchers and international educationists for a more comprehensive insight into the long-term tendencies, possibilities and challenges confronting the management of conditioned peripheral capitalism and basic educational reform in Southern Africa.

Bibliography

Ake, Claude. 1976. "The Congruence of Political Economies and Ideologies in Africa." *In The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa.* Edited by Peter C. W. Gutkind and Immanuel Wallerstein. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 198-211.

Alavi, H. 1973. "Peasant Classes and Primordial Loyalities." *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 1(1), pp. 23-62.

Alavi, H. 1972. "The State in Post-colonial Societies." *New Left Review*. 74. pp. 59-81.

Altbach, Philip. 1978. "The Distribution of Knowledge in the Third World: A Case Study of Neocolonialism." In *Education and Colonialism.* Edited by P. Altbach and G. Kelly. New York: Longman. pp. 301-330.

Altbach, Philip. 1975. "Literary Colonialism in the Third World." *Harvard Educational Review*. 45. May, pp. 226-236.

Altbach, Philip. 1971. "Neocolonialism and Education." *Teachers' College Record.* 72. May, pp. 543-558.

Althusser, Louis. 1970. *For Marx.* New York: Praeger.

Amin, Samir. 1992. *Empire of Chaos.* New York. Monthly Review Press.

Amin, Samir. 1980. *Class and Nation: Historically and in the Current Crisis.* Translated by Susan Kaplow. New York and London: Monthly Review Press.

Amin, Samir. 1977. *Imperialism and Unequal Development.* New York and London: Monthly Review Press.

Amin, Samir. 1976. *Unequal Development: An Essay on the Social Formations of Peripheral Capitalism.* Translated by Brian Pearce. New York and London: Monthly Review Press.

Apple, M. W. 1982. *Ideology and Curriculum.* London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Apple, M. 1981. "Curricular Form and the Topic of Technical Control." In *Rethinking Curriculum Studies.* Edited by L. Barton et al. Lewes, England: Falmer Press.

Apple, M. W. 1979. *Education and Power.* Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Apple, M. W. 1976. "Common Sense Categoreis and Curriculum Thought." In *Schooling and Capitalism.* Edited by R. Dale. London: Open University Press. pp. 174-184.

Arright, G., and Saul, J. S. 1973. *Essays on the Political Economy of Africa.* New York: Monthly Review.

Bacchus, M. K. November 1990. Human Resource Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa. Paper presented for the Commonwealth Expert Group on Human

Resource Development for a Post-Apartheid South Africa, held in London from 7 to 9 November 1990.

Bacchus, M. K. "Education, Research and Training for Self Reliant Development." Keynote address delivered to ACP Seminar, Brussels, Belgium.

Bacchus, M. K. 1980. *Education for Development or Underdevelopment.* Ottawa: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.

Balogh, T. 1964. "The Problem of Education in Africa." *The Centennial Review of Arts and Science.* 6.(4), pp. 533-541.

Baran, P. 1957. *The Political Economy of Growth.* New York: Monthly Review.

Bee, Barbara. 1981. "The Politics of Literacy." In *Literacy and Revolution: The Pedagogy of Paulo Freire.* Edited by Robert Mackie. New York: The Continuum Publishing Company. pp. 39-56.

Blaug, M. 1970. *An Introduction to the Economics of Education.* Penguin.

Bray, Mark. 1992. *Educational Planning in Small Countries.* UNESCO.

Cabral, A. 1972. "Identity and Dignity in the National Liberation Struggle." *Africa Today.* 19(4), pp. 39-47.

Cabral, A. 1969. *Revolution in Guiné.* London. Stage One.

Carnoy, Martin and Samoff, Joel. 1990. *Education and Social Transformation in the Third World.* Princeton University Press.

Carnoy, M. and Levin, H. 1985. *Schooling and Work in the Democratic State.* Standord: Stanford University Press.

Carnoy, Martin, et al. 1979. *Can Educational Policy Equalize Income Distribution in Latin America?* Great Britain: Saton House.

Carnoy, M. 1976. "The Role of Education in a Strategy for Social Change." In *The Limits of Educational Reform.* Edited by M. Carnoy and H. Levin. New York: D. Mackay Co., Inc., pp. 269-290.

Carnoy, Martin. 1974. *Education as Cultural Imperialism.* New York: David MacKay Co., Inc.

CIED (The Centre for International Education and Development, Department of Educational Foundations, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta. 1990. "The Namibia Pre-Service Teacher Education Project.

Cliffe, Lionel. 1976. "Rural Political Economy of Africa." In *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa.* Edited by Peter C. W. Gutkind and Immanuel Wallerstein. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 112-130.

Coombs, P. H. 1985. *The World Crisis in Education: A View From the 80's.* Oxford University Press.

Coquery-Vidrovitch, Catherine. 1976. "The Political Economy of the African Peasantry and Modes of Production" In *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa.* Edited by Peter C. W. Gutkind and Immanuel Wallerstein. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 90-111.

Dore, Ronald. 1976. *The Diploma Disease.* Unwin Education Books.

Dumont, Rene. 1963. *False Start in Africa.*

Edwards, Edgar O, and M. Todaro. 1974. "Education, Society and Development." *World Development.* (2)1, January, pp. 25-30.

Emmanuel, A. 1972. "White Settler Colonialism and the Myth of Investment Imperialism." *New Left Review,* 73. pp. 35-57.

Emmanuel, A. 1972. *Unequal Exchange.* London: New Left Review Editions.

Fair, Kristi. 1993. "The Meaning of 'Sustainability' in Namibia's Basic Education Reform." A paper presented at the March 1993 Comparative and International Education Society Conference. Kingston, Jamaica.

Fanon, F. 1966. *A Dying Colonialism.* Paris: Maspero.

Fanon, F. 1965. *Wretched of the Earth.* London: MacGibbon and Kee.

Floresca-Cawagaw, Virginia, and Swee-Hin, Toh. 1989. "Peace Education in a Land of Suffering and Hope: Insights from the Philippines." *Convergence.* 22(1), pp. 11-23.

Foucault, Michel. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interview and Other Writings 1972-1977.* Edited by Colin Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books.

Frank, Andre Gunder. 1981. "Chapter 1 - "Unequal Accumulation: Intermediate, Semi Perpheral and Sub Imperialist Economies." *Crisis: In the Third World.* London: Heinneman. pp. 1-61.

Frank, Andre Gunder. 1979. *Dependent Accumulation and Underdevelopment.* New York and London: Monthly Review Press.

Freire, P. 1978. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* New York: Seabury Press.

Freire, P. 1973. *Education for Critical Consciousness.* New York: Seabury Press.

Freire, p. 1972. "Education Domestication or Liberation." *Prospects.* 2(2), pp. 173-181.

Furedi, F. 1973. "The African Crowd in Nairobi: Popular Movements and Elite Politics." *Journal of African History,* 14(2), pp. 275-290.

George, Susan. 1988. *A Fate Worse Than Debt.* New York: Penguin.

Giroux, Henry, A. 1983. *Theory and Rsistance in Education.* London: Heinemann Educational Books.

Giroux, Henry, A. 1981. *Ideology, Culture, and the Process of Schooling.* Philadelphia: Temple Universtiy Press.

Godelier, Maurice. 1980. "Origins and formation: Processes of the formation, diversity and bases of the state." *International Sociological Studies Journal.* 32(4), pp. 609-623.

Green, R. H.; Kiljunen, Kimmo; Kiljunen, Marja-Lisa (Eds.). 1981. *Namibia: The Last Colony.* New York: Longman House.

Green, Reginald Herbold. Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex. 1978. Namibia in Transition: Toward a Political Economy of Liberation? Papter presented at a panel on Alternative Future(s) for Africa, African Studies Association, Balitimore, November 1978.

Gutkind, P. C. W. 1973. "The Energy of Despair to the Anger of Despair." *Canadian Journal of African Studies,* 7(2), pp. 179-198.

Hanf, Theodor. 1975. "Education: An Obstacle to Development?" *Comparative Education Review.* 19(1), February, pp. 68-87.

Hoogvelt, A. M. 1967. *The Sociology of Developing Countries.* London: Macmillan.

IDAF. 1989. *Namibia: The Facts.* London: IDAF Publication Ltd.

Innes, Duncan. 1979. "Imperialism and National Struggle in Namibia." *ROAPE.* May, No. 9. pp. 44-59.

Kleinhans, Godfrey, and Lewis, Suzanne Grant. 1993. "The Resiliency of the Status Quo: Rational Integration in Namibian Schools." A paper presented at the 1993 Annual Meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society. Kingston, Jamaica, March, 1993.

Kohli, Atul. 1987. *The State and Poverity in India: The Politics of Reform.* Cambridge University Press.

Konig, B. 1983. Namibia: The Ravages of War: South Africa's Onslought on the Namibians International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa. London.

La Guma, Alex (Ed.). 1971. Apartheid: A Collection of Writings on South African Racism by South Africans. International Publishers.

Lenin, V. I. 1966. *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism. Selected Works. Vol. 1. Part 2.* Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House.

Lenin, V. I. 1966. *The Development of Capitalism in Russia. Collected Works. Vol. 3.* Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House.

Leys, Colin. 1977. *Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo-Colonialism 1964-1971.* London: Heinemann.

Little, Kenneth. 1958. Race and Society. UNESCO Publications.

Magubane, Bernard. 1976. "The Evolution of the Class Structure in Africa" In *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa.* Edited by Peter C. W. Gutkind and Immanuel Wallerstein. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 169-197.

Mamdani, Mahmood; Mkandawire, Thandika; Wamba-dia-Wamba. 1988. "Social Movements, Social Transformation and Struggle for Democracy in Africa." *Economic and Polical Weekly.* May, pp. 973-981.

Mannoni, O. 1956. *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization.* New York: Frederick A. Praeger.

Mao Tse-tung. 1967. "On Contradiction." *Collected Works.* Vol. 1. Peking: Foreign Languages Press.

Marx, Karl. 1974. *Grundrisse.* New York: Penguin.

Marx, Karl. 1966. *Capital. Volumes I, II, III.* Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Marx, K. and Engels, F. 1953. *Selected Correspondence.* Moscow: Progress Publishers.

Mazrui, Ali M. 1978. "The African University as a Multinational Corporation." In *Education and Colonialism.* Edited by Altbach and G. Kelly. New York: Longman. pp. 331-352.

Mbamba, A. Mauno. 1981. *A Diagnostic Analysis of the Education System in Namibia.* United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, Paris (France). International Inst. for Educational Planning.

Memmi, Albert. 1965. *The Colonizer and the Colonized.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Miliband, Ralph. 1969. *The State In Capitalist Society.* New York.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sport, Republic of Namibia. 1991. Annual Report of the Ministry of Education and Culture for the year ending 31 December 1991. Presented to The National Assembly of Namibia (Fifth Session, First Parliament).

Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sport, Republic of Namibia. November 28, 1991. *Education and Culture in Namibia: The Way Forward to 1996: Broad Policy Directives for Education Reform and Renewal in Namibia: 1991.* Windhoek.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sport, Republic of Namibia. May 1991. *Pedagogy in Transition: The Imperatives of Educational Development in the Republic of Namibia.* Windhoek.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sport, Republic of Namibia. November 28, 1990. *Change With Continuity: Education Reform Directive.* Windhoek.

Ministry of Education, Culture, Youth and Sport, Republic of Namibia. July 1990. *Education in Transition: Nurturing Our Future: A transitional Policy Guide-line Statement on Education and Training in the Republic of Namibia.*

Moleah, A. T. 1983. *Namibia: The Strugle for Liberation.* Wilmington, DE: Disa Press, Inc.

Muskin, Joshua, A. 1993. "The Role of Technical Assistance in Education Reform for Newly Democratic Namibia." A paper presented at CIES Conference, March 1993. "Education Reform in Independent Namibia."

Namibian Extension Unit. January 1985. A Brief Account of the Distance Education Programme for Namibians.

Nghidi Ndilula, Nghidi. 1983. "Namibian Education and Culture." In Namibia 1884-1984: Readings on Namibia's History and Society. Edited by Brian Wood. Namibia Support Committee London in co-operation with United Nations Institute for Namibia, Lusaka.

Pannu, R. S. 1988. "Adult Education, Economy and State in Canada. *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research.* 34(3), pp. 232-245.

Pomeroy, William J. 1971. *Apartheid Axis: United States and South Africa.* New York: International Publishers.

Poulantzas, Nico. *Political Power and Social Classes.*

Rodney, Walter. 1972. *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa.* Dar-es--Salaam: Tanzania Publishing Company.

Pauline Marie. 1992. *Post-Modernism and the Social Sciences: Insights, Inroads, and I ntrusions.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Rotberg, Robert, I. (Ed.). 1983. *Namibia: Political and Economic Prospect.* Boston: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Lexington Books.

Samoff, J. 1992. "The Intellectual/Financial Complex." *Review of African Political Economy,* 53, pp. 61-75.

Schoeman, Elna. 1982. *The Namibian Issue, 1920-1980: A Select and Annotated Bibliography.* London: G. K. Hall and Co.

Shityuwete, H. 1990. *Never Follow the Wolf.* London: Kliptown Books.

Singham, A. W. and Hune, Shirley. 1976. *Namibian Independence: A Global Responsibility.* New York: Lawrence Hill and Company.

SWAPO of Namibia, Department of Information and Publicity. 1981. *To be Born a Nation, The Liberation Struggle for Namibia.* ZED Books.

SWAPO and The Namibia Association of Norway. July 1987. *Provisional Guiding Curriculum for Loudima Secondary Technical School.*

Sweezy, Paul. 1942. *The Theory of Capitalist Development.* New York.

Todaro, M. 1977. "Chapter 2 - Diverse Structures and Common Characteristics of Developing Nations." In *Economic Development in the Third World.* New York: Longman. pp. 19-49.

Todaro, M. 1977. "Chapter 11 - Education and Development." In *Economic Development in the Third World.* New York: Longman. pp. 235-267.

Toh, Swee-Hin. 1987. "Education for Participation: Third World Perspectives." *WCCI Forum.* 1(1), pp. 20-43.

Torres, Carlos A. 1989. "The Capitalist State and Public Policy Formation: Framework for a political Sociology of Educational Policy Making." *British Journal of Sociology of Education.* 10(1), pp. 81-102.

Totemeyer, G. 1978. *Namibia Old and New (Traditional and Modern Leaders in Ovamboland).* Great Britain: Billing and Sons Ltd.

Turner, John. March 25 - April 6, 1990. *Education in Namibia: A Report of a Consultancy for the Ministry for Education, Culture and Sport.* Financed by British Overseas Development Administration.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1976. "The Three Stages of African Involvement in the World-Economy." In *The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa.* Edited by Peter C. W. Gutkind and Immanuel Wallerstein. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 30-57.

Williams, Eric. 1966. (Original Edition: 1944). *Capitalism and Slavery.* New York: Capricorn Books.

Williams, R. 1976. "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory." In *Schooling and Capitalism.* Edited by R. Dale. London: Open University Press. pp. 202-210.

Winter, Carolyn. The Provision of Appropriate Education in Selected Southern African Countries: Malawi, Zimbabwe, Namibia and the 'Independent' South African Homelands. Paper presented at the International Conference on Education in the '90s" 'Equality, Equity and Excellence in Education'. December 1, 1984.

Woddis, Jack. 1960. *Africa: The Roots of Revolt.* New York: Citadel Press.

Wolpe, H. 1972. "Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa." *Economy and Society,* 14, pp. 425-456.

Wood, Brian (Ed.). 1988. Namibian Support Committee in Co-operation with U.N. Institute for Namibia; Namibia 1884-1984. London: Action on Namibia Publications.

Young, John Y. 1990. Equality of Opportunity: Reality or Myth? In Brian Titley (ed.), *Canadian Education: Historical Themes and Contemporary Issues.* Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd. pp. 161-171.

Appendix I

Co-operating Partners and Their Areas of Support

Area of Support	Co-operating Partner	Remarks
PRE-PRIMARY ED.	UNICEF	a) Survey of Pre-Schools and kindergartens b) Provision of Educational Toys
	FINNIDA	a) Support to Private Community Initiatives b) Possible support to the development of Pre-School Manual
PRIMARY	USA-AID	a) Conference on Basic Education b) Reform of Basic Education c) Development of Education Management Information System d) Instructional System Design e) Training f) Teacher In-Service Training g) Books for Schools h) Research and Development
	UNICEF	a) Primary School Principals Development Course
	SIDA	a) Teacher Education b) Expansion of Primary Schools (Budget support)
	ODA - BC	a) Introduction of Molteno Language Programme b) Support to English Language Development
	FINNIDA	a) Primary School Textbooks
	UNDP-UNESCO	a) Teacher In-Service Training
SECONDARY LEVEL	EEC	a) "INSTANT" programme for Teachers of Science and Maths
	WUS-DENMARK	a) Life Science b) Agriculture in General Education
	Standard Bank (Namibia)	a) Book boxes "Mini - Libraries"

	ODA	a) English Language Broadcasting C for Teachers b) Book donation c) Training of In-Service Teacher Trainers d) Science Equipment for Selected Secondary Schools in Ovamboland e) Support to "ABACUS"
	FINNIDA	a) Pre-Vocational Skills b) Targeted Budget Support
	EEC	a) Possible Targeted Budget Support
	NAMAS - Norway	a) Monitoring of Secondary School Reform b) Support to the Namibia Secondary Technical School c) Teacher Support
	University of Bremen-Namibia Project	a) Curriculum Development b) Possible Support to Ruacana Secondary School
	INDIA	a) Secondary Education Learning/ Teaching Methods
TEACHING	UN-Volunteers Organization	a) 27 Teachers of Science, Maths, Agriculture, and English
	USA-Peace Corps	a) 25 Peace Corps for English Language, Science and Math
	Nigerian Development Corps	a) 35 Teachers of English, Science, Maths and Agriculture
		All volunteer teachers assigned to rural historically deprived schools
TEACHER EDUCATION	ODA	a) Support to Teacher Training Colleges (Books and short courses)
	SIDA	a) Development of Teacher Education Programmes
	USA-Peace Corps	a) Trainers
SCHOLARSHIPS	ODA	a) ELT Fellowships
	SIDA	a) Support to CFTC

	CUBA	a) Secondary Technical and Higher Education
VOCATIONAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION	SIDA	a) Staff Housing (Budget Support)
	FINNIDA	a) Training Equipment Support
	WUS-DENMARK	a) Trainers
NON-FORMAL EDUCATION	SIDA	a) Literacy b) Folk High School Development
	UNICEF	a) Literacy
	FINNIDA	a) Skills Development for unmarried young mothers
	ODA	a) Distance Education
	Ford Foundation	a) Study Tours
HIGHER EDUCATION	Ford Foundation	a) Support to the Commission on Higher Education b) Legal Training
	ODA	a) Support to the Commission on Higher Education b) Library Books
	CFTC	a) Support to the Commission on Higher Education
SCHOOL SPORT	FRG	a) Technical support
GOVERNMENT AIDED SCHOOLS	SIDA	a) Support to four Community Schools in the South and to the People's Primary School, Windhoek
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF ED. DEVELOPMENT (NIED)	SIDA	a) Institutional Development b) Technical Support
	CDM	a) Institutional Development
	USA	a) Technical Support
	FINNIDA	a) Technical and Material Support
	WUS-DENMARK	a) Technical Support

Appendix II

Country Profile
The Republic of Namibia

The State

Governing Party: *SWAPO*
Chief of State: *Hon. President S. Nujoma*
Minister of Education: *Hon. Nahas Angula*
Territory: *823.144 sq. km.*

Multi-Party Republic
Political Opposition : *South African-backed DTA (Democratic Turnhalle Alliance) has 28.6 % of the vote.*
Governing Bodies: *Presidential Cabinet, National Assembly*
Population: 1.876.000
Languages: *English is the official language. Africaans and German are also widely spoken. Numerous indigenous African languages are in daily, practical use.*

Major Ethnic Groups: *Ovambo, Damara, Kavango, Herero, Caprivi, Nama, Rehoboth , (Coloureds), Khoisan, Tswana. Ovambo's make up approximately half the population of the Republic.*
Whites make up 6% of the population.
Religion: 80% Christian, 20% traditional modes of worship.

Commemorative Dates

19 April: *Founding of SWAPO.*
4 May: *Kassinga Day.*
18 May: *Heroes Day (Commemorates the death of SWAPO-Commander Tobias Hainyeko)*
26 August: *Namibia Day.*
27 October: *Namibia Week - for U.N. and International solidarity activities.*
10 December: *Namibia Women's Day.*
21 March: *Namibia's Independence Day.*

Political Economy

Estimated GNP per capita: *$1000 (Canada $15,080)*
Infant mortality: *97 per 1.000 live births*
Life Expectancy: *56 years*
Major productive activities: *Mining (Base-metal ores and diamonds), Fishing, Farming and Ranching (cattle and karakul sheep). Mining represents the dominant sector of the economy.*
Principal Exports: *Livestock products and fish, base metals, diamonds and uranium.*
Principal Imports: *50% of food needs, petroleum products, knowledge, industrial machinery and transport equipment.*